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An Eminent Servant of Christ and Minister of the Gospel in the
Society of Friends.

PHILADELPHIA:
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INTRODUCTION.

THE materials for compiling a life of Edward Burrough are extremely scanty. His death occurred so early after the rise of the Society; and at a period when Friends were enduring such severe persecution, many of them being shut up in prisons, that it is probable but little care was then taken to collect or put on record the incidents of his short but laborious life. It does not appear that he kept any account of himself, except the few particulars which are scattered through his controversial or other religious writings. These, with the scanty materials furnished by incidental notices of him, in the journals of other Friends of that day, and in Sewel's History, are all that can now be obtained.


From this circumstance the reader will not expect to find a minute or closely connected biography of this remarkable man; yet with all the paucity of material, there is enough to form a narrative deeply instructive and interesting. Perhaps there are few instances on record, of more full and entire devotion to the cause of Christ and the good of souls, more fervent zeal, more untiring industry, more patient and meek endurance of reproach and persecution, than marked his character.

From the day of his espousal to Christ, his course seems to have been straight forward, never looking back or flinching amid all the afflictions and sufferings which beset him for the

Gospel's sake. Bold, ardent, and devoted in pursuing the path of Christian duty, he was clothed with a dignity and Divine authority which made him a terror to evil doers, while the meekness and gentleness of Christ softened and adorned his whole character, and qualified him to administer the balm of Divine consolation to the afflicted and contrite mourner.

Cheerfully surrendering every prospect of worldly ease and profit at the call of duty, he devoted the prime and strength of his days to the service of his Lord, laboring night and day for the good of souls and the spread of vital religion, and crowding into the narrow compass of a few years, a greater amount of labor than is often accomplished in a protracted life.

Undaunted by the frowns and cruel persecutions of his enemies, he never flinched from fines, imprisonments, or any species of personal abuse, or violence, but nobly stood as in the forefront of the battle; and, at last, actuated by that Christian sympathy which is ever ready to share the sorrows and sufferings of brethren and sisters in Christ, he repaired to London, during a time of extraordinary severity against Friends there, and being seized and dragged to jail from one of their meetings, the pestilential atmosphere caused by the crowded state of the apartment, soon undermined his health, and he gradually sunk away, in peace with God and man, a martyr for the name and testimony of Jesus, exchanging a prison on earth for an incorruptible crown in heaven.



MEMOIR

OF

EDWARD BURROUGH.

CHAPTER I.

EDWARD BURROUGH was born in the year 1634, in or near Underbarrow, a village in the barony of Kendal, in Westmoreland. His parents were respected for their virtue and honesty ; and as they were possessed of a sufficient estate, they gave their son the best education that could be obtained for him in the neighborhood where they resided. He displayed much manliness of character at an early age, abstaining in great measure from the ordinary amusements of youth, and evincing a relish for the company and conversation of pious persons of enlarged and mature minds. He was fond of reading the Holy Scriptures, and having a retentive memory, he became well versed in them. His parents were members of the Episcopal church, and brought him up in the practice of the ceremonies which its ritual prescribed. He describes his religion, at this time, as consisting in "going one day in seven to hear a man preach—to read and sing, and rubble over a prayer ; whilst I was wanton and light, and lived in pleasure without the fear of God ; not knowing God but by hearsay and tradition."

He was early favored with the visitation of Divine grace, making him uneasy with his sensual enjoyments and sinful condition, and inciting him to seek after better things. He says, "When I grew up towards twelve years of age, something stirred in me, and showed me that there was a higher religion than that I was exercised in." He visited various places of worship, for the purpose of finding some purer way than that in which he then was; and thought the Presbyterians had more that seemed like truth amongst them, than those with whom he had been educated. "So I got to be a Presbyterian," says he, "and followed the highest of the priests and professors of that form, and grew in favor with them. Then I left some little of my vanity and lightness, and pride grew up in me. Some of my former acquaintance began to scorn me, and by laboring here, I gathered knowledge of things without, but yet was ignorant of the living truth."

"When I was about seventeen years of age, it pleased God to show himself a little to me, and something struck me with terror. When I had been praying, I heard the voice often, 'Thou art ignorant of God—thou knowest not where He is; to what purpose is thy prayer?' So, much fear came upon me, and broke me off from praying many times; trouble came thick into my mind, and fearfulness fell upon me. I was struck off from my delights, which I formerly loved, and what I had gathered in, as of God, died. I left off reading in the Scriptures, for something showed me that I was very ignorant, and knew not the true God; and the beauty of all things vanished. I went to some, asking what that God was, which was professed? for I said, 'I know Him not;' but I got no satisfaction from any."

"At this time," he continues, "I was much separated

from the vain ways of the world, and from worldly people; and was made to reprove many for wickedness in words and actions; and was derided, and looked upon scornfully by many. The preaching of those whom I had formerly much delighted in, was withered and decayed. Yet it pleased the Lord to show himself in love to me, and I had sweet refreshment, coming in from Him to my soul, and had joy and peace in abundance; and openings of the living truth in me, which the world knew not of. The mystery of the Scriptures was something opened, which before I knew nothing of; and I saw many glorious things in it, which lie hid under the letter. I was in much rejoicing many times, and sang praises, for I was brought out of the land of darkness, and could say, I was in the light."

"But not knowing the cross of Christ, I ran forth, in my wisdom comprehending the mysteries of God. Having a light shining in me, I grew up into notions, to talk of high things, for it was my delight to comprehend in my busy mind. Thus, being ignorant of the cross, to keep low in it, I ran before my guide up into comprehension, and then was I above many of the priests and professors, and followed only to hear the highest notionists, that preached high things. But the fleshly man was at liberty, and so I became one of them in their discoursings, and was looked upon by them to know much. The former terror was gone, and I had got up from under the judgment;—pride grew more than ever, self-conceit, presumption, and fleshly liberty to the carnal mind; and my delight was much in discoursing; where I gave holy things unto dogs, and cast pearls before swine. Wisdom was hid from me; I lived pleasantly, for I had the true God, and the true Truth in my comprehension, which by my wisdom in the

light I had comprehended, and I had the world in my heart. Pride, covetousness, and the earthly spirit ruled, and my delight was grown up to that, which once I had no delight in, and the beauty of things grew, which seemed to have been vanished. Here I was run from my husband after other lovers, and had left the Lord my Maker who had so graciously made himself manifest unto me. I became darkened, lost that which I once had, and had in memory that which before I had enjoyed. I could tell of experiences, but they were dead to me; and something within began to question how it was with me? for I saw myself to be ignorant more than formerly, and I saw that I knew nothing."

At this period he felt earnest desires to regain the state from which he had fallen; yet was not humbled enough to seek restoration in that abasedness of self, which would have prepared him for knowing the gracious promise fulfilled, "Seek, and ye shall find." He endeavored to comfort himself in the recollection of the seasons of inward communion with the Lord which he had formerly enjoyed, saying, "Whom God loves once, He loves forever." This doctrine, which was very prevalent among the Calvinistic Puritans, is eminently evil in its tendency, by soothing the anguish for sin, which the Lord in mercy, as well as in judgment, brings upon his backsliding children, in order to induce them to seek reconciliation with Him through Christ, by repentance and amendment of life.

Edward Burrough could not, however, long rest satisfied to trust in former experiences, knowing from the convictions of the Holy Spirit, in himself, that his heart was not right in the sight of God. What would it have availed him, if called into another state of existence, that he had once been favored with Divine approbation, when, to use

his own language, "that was head and ruled in me, which God never loved?" The witness for Truth in his heart did not suffer him to settle down at rest. He grew weary of the preaching of the priests, even of those who made the highest profession, and through the discoveries of that Divine Light which still shone in his heart, he perceived the spiritual ignorance and emptiness of the professors of the Christian name.

Whilst in this unsettled state, he informs us, that "It pleased the Lord to send into the parts where he lived, his faithful servant and messenger, George Fox. He spoke the language which I knew not, notwithstanding all my high talking." It was about the first of the Fourth Month, 1652, that George Fox came to Underbarrow, where Edward Burrough met with him. He had previously been at Kendal, and had preached at a meeting there with such prevailing power, that a number of persons received his doctrine ; and several of these came with him to Underbarrow.

The doctrine of the light of Christ Jesus, made manifest in the heart, reproving for evil, giving a right understanding of the Holy Scriptures, and leading the humble and obedient ones to the saving knowledge of Him who died for them, was calculated to produce a strong impression on the minds of those who had long been fruitlessly seeking after truth and religious stability, among empty forms and ceremonies. Yet the truth thus declared to them, being in the cross to man's natural wisdom, was not received without opposition and argument ; and amongst the contenders against it was Edward Burrough. His ability in argument, and his desire to save himself from the acknowledgment of error, were, however, of no avail ; for through the power of the Holy Spirit accompanying

the word preached, which gave an awakening force to the language of Truth in the mouth of George Fox, this strong-minded young man was brought to confess to the soundness of the doctrine which he then heard, and its consistency with the testimony of the Holy Scriptures. But what was more important to him than all this, his heart was touched and softened, whilst his mind became enlightened, and he was brought to a sense of his wretched and sinful condition. He tells us, that the Lord was pleased to show him that he was in the prodigal state, above the cross of Christ, out of the pure fear of the Lord, and full of corruption and of the old nature. He felt himself to be a child of wrath, and "no more worthy to be called a son." "A day of weeping, mourning and misery," says he, "and a day of vengeance and recompense came upon me, such as I had never known. One vial of wrath after another (was poured out) and then I separated from all the glory of the world, and from all my acquaintance and kindred, and betook myself to the company of a poor, despised and condemned people, called Quakers. Now am I one of that generation which is ever hated of the world; and have chosen rather to suffer affliction with them, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin with the great multitude, though worldly pleasures were not wanting to me. I do bear witness against all formality in religion, and false hirelings, and chief priests, who walk in the steps of the Scribes and Pharisees, and of the false prophets of Israel, that were never sent of God to declare his word. I am despised of my neighbors and carnal acquaintance, and am not greater than my Lord, who was called a blasphemer and a deceiver, as now I am. But praised, praised be the Lord forevermore, who hath separated me from the world and worldly glories, and hath made me a partaker of his

love, in whom my soul hath full satisfaction, joy and content."

Whilst he was thus made to endure the baptism of the Holy Spirit to prepare him for the Lord's service, he had also a large share of outward trouble and conflict. His parents having been educated in the belief, that religion very much consisted in the observance of the church ritual, were not prepared to tolerate in their son a profession which struck at all mere external rites and ceremonies, as being contrary to the spirituality of the Christian religion. They no doubt regarded the Quakers as heretics, in denying the saving efficacy of those rites, which many deemed to be part of Christianity itself, and obligatory on all. Other dissenters, however they might differ on certain points of doctrine or discipline, clung to what were termed the ordinances. They considered the administration of outward water as the Christian baptism, and the partaking of bread and wine, after it was supposed to have been consecrated by the priest, as the Lord's supper. The Quakers, therefore, were condemned by all other professors of the Christian name; and Edward Burrough's parents were so incensed against him for joining with such a people, that they refused to permit him to remain in their family. When they had rejected him as a son, he offered to remain and work for them in the capacity of a servant, but in this he was also denied. Having now literally given up father and mother for the Lord's sake and the gospel's, he endeavored to walk in faithful obedience to Him who had called him, and whom he found to be a rich "rewarder of them that diligently seek Him." He that declared, "whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is my brother and sister and mother," was with him in this separation from his kindred, sustain-

ing him under the sacrifice he had made of family endearments.

Having thus given up all for Christ's sake, and passed through various exercises and baptisms to prepare him for the service and station which he was designed to fill in the church, he received a Divine call to the solemn work of the ministry of the Gospel; and engaged therein about two months after his conviction. In a preface which he subsequently wrote to one of George Fox's works, he thus speaks of this period, viz:

"It is now about seven years, since the Lord raised us up in the north of England, and opened our mouths (to preach the gospel) in his Spirit. What we were before, in our religious profession and practice, is well known to that part of the country; how generally we were men of the strictest sect, and of the greatest zeal in the performance of outward righteousness. We went through and tried all sorts of teachers, and ran from mountain to mountain, and from man to man, and from one form to another, as many do at this day, and remain not gathered to the Lord. Such we were that sought the Lord, and desired the knowledge of his ways more than any thing beside. For one, I may speak, who from a child, even a few years old, set his face to seek and find the Saviour, and more than life, treasure or any crown, sought after with all his heart the one thing that is needful, to wit, the knowledge of God."

"After our long seeking, the Lord appeared to us, and revealed his glory in us, and gave us of his spirit, and of his wisdom to guide us, whereby we saw all the world, the true state of things, and the true condition of the church. First, the Lord brought us to see that God had given every one of us a light from himself, shining in our

hearts and consciences, with which light, Christ, the Saviour of the world, had lighted every man. This light we found sufficient to reprove and convince us of every evil deed, word and thought. By it we came to know good from evil, and whatsoever is of God from what is of the devil. This light gave us to discern between truth and error, and between every false and right way. We thereby came to know what man was before transgression, how he was deceived and overcome by the devil; how he is driven from the presence of the Lord, and the sorrow and anguish which he is to undergo. By this light we came to know the way and means of restoration, and the state of man come out of the transgression and restored. These things were revealed in us by the light which Christ had given us, and enlightened us with."

"We found this light to be a sufficient teacher to lead us to Christ, from whom it came; and it gave us to receive Christ, and to witness Him to dwell in us. Through it we came to enter into the new Covenant, to be made heirs of life and salvation. In all things we found the Light, which is Christ, which we and all mankind were enlightened with, to be sufficient to bring to life and eternal salvation; and that all who owned this light in them, needed no man to teach them, but the Lord was their teacher, by his light in their consciences, and they received the holy anointing. So we ceased from all the teachings of men, their worships, temples and baptisms, and from our own words, professions, and practices of religion, in times before zealously performed by us, and became fools for Christ's sake, that we might become truly wise."

"By this light of Christ in us we were led out of all false ways, false preachings and false ministry, and met together often and waited upon the Lord in pure silence.

“ We hearkened to the voice of the Lord, and felt his word in our hearts to burn up and to beat down all that was contrary to God, and we obeyed the light of Christ, and followed the motions of the Lord’s pure spirit—took up the cross to all earthly glories, crowns and ways, and denied ourselves, our relations, and all that stood in the way between us and the Lord. We chose to suffer with and for the name of Christ, rather than enjoy all the pleasures upon earth, or all our former professions and practices in religion, without the power and spirit of God.”

“ Whilst waiting upon the Lord in silence, as we often did for many hours together, with our hearts towards Him, being stayed in the light of Christ from all fleshly motions and desires, we often received the pouring down of his spirit upon us, and our hearts were made glad, and our tongues loosened, and our mouths opened, and we spake with new tongues, as the Lord gave us utterance, and his spirit led us, which was poured upon sons and daughters. Thereby things unutterable were made manifest, and the glory of the Father was revealed. Then we began to sing praises to the Lord God Almighty, and to the Lamb, who had redeemed us to God, and brought us out of the bondage of the world, and put an end to sin and death.”

“ All this was by and through the light of Christ within us; and much more might be declared hereof, which could not be believed, of the manifestation of the everlasting spirit that was given us. But this is the sum, life and immortality where brought to light, power from on high, and wisdom were made manifest, and the day everlasting appeared unto us. The joyful Sun of righteousness arose and shone forth unto us and in us, and the holy anointing, the everlasting Comforter we received. The heir

of the promise was brought forth to reign over the earth, and over hell and death, whereby we entered into everlasting union, and fellowship, and covenant with the Lord God, whose mercies are sure and his promise never fails. We were raised from death to life, and are changed from satan's power to God, and gathered from all the dumb shepherds, and off all the barren mountains, into the fold of eternal peace and rest; and mighty and wonderful things hath the Lord wrought for us, and by us, by his own outstretched arm."

"Being prepared of the Lord, and having received power from on high, we went forth as commanded of the Lord, leaving all relations, and all things of the world behind us, that we might fulfil the work of the Lord, unto which He called us. With flesh and blood, or any creature we consulted not, nor took counsel of men, but of the Lord alone, who lifted up our heads above the world and all fears and doubtings, and was with us in power and dominion over all that opposed us, which was great and mighty. We sounded the word of the Lord, and did not spare; and caused the deaf to hear, the blind to see, and the heart that was hardened to be awakened; and the dread of the Lord went before us and behind us, and took hold of our enemies."

"We first journeyed out of Westmoreland through Cumberland, Northumberland and into some parts of Scotland and Durham, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cheshire, &c., and in all these counties we had much opposition, sufferings and cruel dealings from men of all sorts. Every jail may witness, how seldom any of them were without some of us imprisoned these six years; and scarcely one steeple-house or market but may witness what beatings, bruises, halings and perils we have sustained. Let the

witness or God in all men's consciences, give testimony what cruelty we suffered, and also our patience and innocency under all that they have done to us."

Others beside Edward Burrough had been convinced of the Truth in the Northern counties of England, through the ministry of George Fox; and these frequently met together to worship the Lord. Being redeemed from all dependence on man and convinced that the solemn act of Divine worship must be performed immediately between the soul and its Almighty Creator, through the help of the spirit of Christ Jesus, the one great Mediator, through whom alone we have access unto the Father, they were often engaged to sit down together in silence and wait on Him. Thus reverently seeking after the Divine presence and power to be manifested among them for the renewal of their spiritual strength, the Lord was pleased at seasons marvellously to break in upon them and crown their assemblies with his living, heart tendering virtue, even when no words were spoken.

Francis Howgill tells us, that in joy of heart at this favor, they often said to one another, "What! is the kingdom of God come to be with men? Will He take up his abode among the sons of men, as He did of old? And shall we, that were reckoned as the outcasts of Israel, have the honor communicated amongst us, who were but men of small parts, and of little ability in respect of many others as amongst men?"

Many were the afflictions which these honest hearted people were called to partake of, but having turned their backs upon the world with all its friendships, honors, ways, religions and worships, they nobly persevered amid all their sufferings, taking up the cross and following Christ Jesus, the Lamb of God, whithersoever He led

them. In this patient waiting state, seeking to know and to do the will of God, they grew in religious understanding, and Divine knowledge of the things pertaining to the kingdom of heaven, and many of them were deeply instructed in the mysteries of salvation. Abiding under the teachings of the Spirit of Christ, they knew Him to sanctify and prepare them for the ministry of the gospel, and in his time felt themselves called of Him, to declare unto others that which they had seen and felt, and tasted and handled of the good word of life. Thus they were made living and able ministers of the New Testament, not of the letter, but of the Spirit, and in its power and authority were sent forth to gather souls unto Christ.

We have already seen that Edward Burrough had been driven from his father's house, in consequence of his religious profession; and having thus early begun to taste of that cup of persecution, which in those intolerant times was poured out in such large measure for the people called Quakers, he shrunk not from the bitter draught, but with Christian meekness and patience, continued to bear the allotted portion of suffering, until at length he sealed his testimony with his life.

At an early period the storm of persecution broke forth in the north, and Edward Burrough in common with his brethren felt its effects, but this did not deter him from endeavoring faithfully to occupy the gift committed to his trust. He soon began to travel through his native county, and also went into Cumberland, Northumberland and some parts of Scotland, holding meetings and preaching to the people, many of whom were awakened by his ministry, and brought to join in religious fellowship with the Society of Friends.

In the Sixth Month 1652, Miles Halhead was commit-

ted to prison in Kendal, near Edward Burrough's native place, for reproving a priest. He informs us that the first night he lay in prison, the word of the Lord came to him saying, "Fear not, for I will be with thee according to my promise, and will make thee a burdensome stone unto the town of Kendal, and to thy persecutors. And I will send my servants, my sons and my daughters, from the east and from the west, from the north and from the south, to bear witness to the same truth that thou suffers for : yea, against the justice that committed thee. Therefore be thou faithful, for I have chosen thee to be the first that shall suffer for my name's sake in the town of Kendal." This promise, Miles informs us, was made good. He was confined three months, during which period the same justice committed Francis Howgill, Thomas Holme and thirty others, "brethren and sisters," for bearing testimony to the Truth. At the expiration of the three months, the justice set him at liberty. Soon after, for riding through this town of Kendal, and exhorting the inhabitants to repentance, he was committed to prison by the mayor. He tells us that this officer "had little peace from the Lord for what he had done, till he had released me. Then I returned to my house again, and had great peace with the Lord." About the Ninth Month of this same year, Miles went to the house of Justice Fell, at Swarthmore ; he says, "I found the Lord's people gathered together to wait upon his name. The Lord was very good to that family, in feeding them with the dew of heaven, and with the sweet incomes of his love, according to his promise. Glory and honor, and living eternal praises, be given to the Lord God for evermore."

An anecdote will illustrate the unreasonable enmity against Friends, which at that time prevailed in the

north of England. As Miles was going towards Swarthmore, a woman whom he passed without uncovering his head to her, ordered her servant to follow and beat him. This unreasonable abuse Miles patiently submitted to. Towards the close of the year, feeling a concern to visit the woman, he went to her house. She came to the door, and knowing him, and being desirous to avoid hearing what he had to say, feigned herself to be some one else. Miles, though unacquainted with her person, from a secret impression upon his mind, was convinced that she was the one whom he had come to see. After reproving her falsehood on the present occasion, he delivered a solemn warning to her, ending with this exhortation, "Fear the Lord God of heaven and earth, that thou mayest end thy days in peace." Three years afterwards the servant, who at the command of his mistress had beaten Miles, came to him and requested forgiveness, desiring he would pray to the Lord for him, that he might obtain peace of mind. To these requests he made this Christian answer, "Truly, friend, from that time to this day, I never had anything in my heart against thee or thy mistress, but love. The Lord forgive you both. I desire it may never be laid to your charge, for ye knew not what ye did." Miles adds to his account of the occurrence, "So I parted with him; my heart being exceedingly broken with the true love of God, who had pleaded my cause in the hearts of my persecutors."

In the latter part of the year 1652, or in the beginning of 1653, Edward Burrough accompanied his fellow laborer in the gospel, John Audland, in one of his earliest, if not in his very first, journey on a religious account.

Of the success of their gospel labors, John Audland thus writes: "Praises and honor to our God forever, who

is worthy, for all is falling before Him. My dear Friends, the harvest here is great; even all the fields are white, and all the dumb dogs and idle shepherds, drones and loiterers run, quake, tremble and fly before us. The sword of the Lord is in the hands of the saints, and this sword divides, hews and cuts down, and so way is made for the pure seed to arise and reign above all, which conquers all. Praises be to the Lord forevermore." "Dear Friends the work of the Lord is great, and many are convinced of the living truth, and I really see the Lord will raise up to himself a pure and large people, to serve and worship Him in spirit and in truth. My dear brother and fellow-laborer, Edward Burrough, salutes you in the Lord."

Edward Burrough at this time could scarcely have been older than in his nineteenth year, yet he was accounted an able minister of the gospel, being zealous in his Master's cause, and wise in spiritual things, understanding the way of life and salvation; and was withal earnest in his manner, and fluent in the delivery of those important doctrines which he was commissioned to preach.


How long he continued travelling with John Audland, we have no means for ascertaining. He appears, however, to have been much engaged at this early period in laboring in his own county, and elsewhere, in the markets, the streets, in places of public worship, and wherever his Master sent him with the message of life and authority to proclaim it. He had a remarkable gift in discerning the states and conditions of those amongst whom he was sent; and the exercise of the wisdom bestowed on him, no less than his zeal, was often called for.

About the close of the year 1653, or in the beginning of 1654, Edward Burrough was imprisoned for writing a letter of Christian reproof to one who was living in gross

wickedness. During this confinement he prepared for publication a manuscript, bearing the title of "A Warning from the Lord to the Inhabitants of Underbarrow, and so to all the Inhabitants of England." In this he first addresses the people of Underbarrow, opening to them the spiritual nature of the gospel of Jesus Christ. He tells them that he had, at four different times, entered their place of public worship, under a sense of religious duty, in order to declare the Truth among them, but that as he could not have liberty to speak there, he now cleared his conscience by writing to them. He appeals to the Searcher of hearts to witness, that it was not in his own will, but in the cross to it, that he had gone to their meetings. His object was to show them that they were in bondage to a ceremonial, formal worship, and to a dependence upon a man-made and deceitful ministry, which tended to keep their souls in death. That his concern was to direct them to wait in spirit and in truth on the Lord, in order to attain the true knowledge of Him, and of that one thing needful, the eternal welfare of their souls. He desires that they may be led out of the will-worships of the world, to worship God in spirit and in truth. He had had several arguments with their minister, who had denied the doctrine that Christ, by his light or spirit in the soul, enlightens every man that comes into the world. This, he continues, is to make Christ a liar, and proves the assertor of it to be ignorant of the first principles of religion, not knowing the light of the Holy Spirit which leads to God. This light, which the servants of God in all generations were witnesses of, Edward Burrough declares, he and his fellow professors experienced to shine in their hearts, showing them the deceit of all such ministers as the priest of Underbarrow.

He then declares that he and his brethren own the one saving baptism, that of the Holy Ghost and fire; and witness a being baptized by the One Spirit into the One Body, of which Christ Jesus is Head, though they do not use water baptism. That they reject the administration of bread and wine as a Christian rite, whilst acknowledging the communion of saints, the partaking of the body and blood of Christ, by which they were nourished up to eternal life. Singing in the spirit, and making melody in the heart to the Lord, the singing of that song which none but the redeemed ones can learn, they acknowledge, believing it to be well pleasing to God; but the singing in the will of man, without the spirit, as generally practised in their places of worship, they reject "as carnal and traditional." "True preaching of Jesus Christ crucified we own, and do witness; for this preaching is not of the will of man, or form and custom, [but it] is foolishness to the wisdom of the world now, as it ever was. This is not with the enticing words of man's wisdom, but in the demonstration of the Spirit and of power. The preaching of the word of faith, which is nigh thee, in thy mouth and in thy heart we do own; for faith comes by hearing of this word preached. Prayer with the Spirit of Truth we do own, for that is not in word [merely] to be seen of men; not by custom, form and tradition, but by the Spirit, which hath free access to God, and which He heareth, and doth accept."

After bearing testimony against the too general depravity of the professors of religion, and warning them to repentance, he adds: "Now is the day of your visitation, wherein the Saviour of the world stands at the door and knocketh. If any open unto Him He will come in: therefore prize your time, and hear the word of the Lord,



and lay aside the works of darkness, lying, swearing, mocking and scorning, and beating your fellow-servants." "Repent and turn to the Lord with mourning and lamentation, and cease from all your former ways and doings. Cease from covetousness and oppression, ye aged people; cease from lightness, vanity and pride, ye young people; and from all priests and steeple-houses, for there your lightness, pride, and vain minds are fed and nourished, and the enemies of the Lord are strengthened. Dear people, there I once had fellowship with you in your pride, lightness and vanity; and there was once my joy and delight. But now I am chosen by the Lord out of all these things; praises be to Him forever, to serve the Lord in declaring against all these abominations."

"All ye people, mind the light; for the light hath enlightened every one of you, which is the Saviour and Redeemer of him that loveth it, and bringeth his deeds to it: but it is the condemnation of him that hateth it, and walks not in it. Therefore all people, mind this light which is of God; this will lead you up to God. This is the way to the Father, and no man cometh to the Father but by me, said He, who was, and is the Light. If you love this Light, and walk in this Light, it will bring you to be witnesses of the Scriptures, and of the saints' condition, which you are but talkers of. This is the Light from which they spoke, who spoke the truth of God; and from this light did Isaiah, who lived in the obedience of it, cry against the greedy dumb dogs, that sought their gain from their quarter. So did Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Micah and Malachi cry against hirelings, and against them that said, 'The Lord saith it,' and He never spoke to them; and against them that preached for hire and divined for money;

and taught for the fleece ; and yet leaned upon the Lord, saying, ‘ Is not the Lord among us ?’

“ Love the Light and obey it. It will separate you from all filthiness, and corruption, and lead you into purity and holiness, without which none shall see God. There is your teacher, always present with you, which teaches to deny ungodliness, and the wicked ways of the world.”

At the close of this address, Edward Burrough felt his heart drawn to salute his brethren, commonly called Quakers, who had been brought, through the obedience of faith, into religious fellowship with one another in the Lord. “ By faith,” says he, “ with Abraham, are ye come out of your native country, from your kindred, and out of your father’s house : with Moses, have ye forsaken the glory of Pharaoh’s house, and chosen rather to suffer affliction among the poor despised people, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin. Great shall be your reward, ye contemned ones : glory, honor and everlasting happiness is prepared for you, if you stand faithful to the end. The Lord is with you as a mighty terrible one ; and therefore shall all your persecutors be ashamed and confounded.”

“ Walk in the fear of the living God, and despise not the cross of Christ, but let the cross be your rejoicing, for through the cross is the power of the Lord made manifest. Rejoice, and be exceeding glad, that you are counted worthy to suffer shame and reproach, and some of you imprisonment for the Truth’s sake. Thus it ever was ; he that is born of the flesh, persecutes him that is born of the Spirit. Be glad and rejoice in the Lord, for you hath He chosen to shine as lights in the world, and to be a burdensome stone to the nations. Your fame has gone abroad, and because of the man-child that is born are the nations

troubled, and the chief priests and rulers combined together. But that the Lord may be glorified, for your sakes will He scatter the proud in their imaginations, and will break in pieces the snares which the chief priests have laid for your feet, and they shall be taken in their own craftiness, and fall in the pit which they have digged for you. The Lord, who hath called you, will set you upon a rock, and will preserve you out of the mouths of the wolves, who devour souls for dishonest gain."

The encouragement held out to his faithful fellow believers, that they should experience preservation, even amid the cruel persecution of their enemies, was fully realized.

All the machinations of their opponents, aided by the strong arm of the government, and the relentless power of persecuting priests and magistrates, failed to crush the Society of Friends. The doctrines they promulgated were responded to by the witness for Truth in the hearts of multitudes, who weary of a lifeless profession of religion, cordially embraced what they found to be no cunningly devised fable, but the living substance. Almost every day, some were added to their number, by the power of heartfelt conviction, and in a few years, they grew to be a considerable people.

Their patient consistency and steadfastness in the performance of their religious duties, undaunted by personal abuse and cruel imprisonment, finally wore out persecution; while the meekness and blamelessness of their lives and conversation, won for them the esteem of the moderate, and even extorted commendation from their enemies.

The scriptural soundness and excellence of their Christian testimonies, though at first derided, misunderstood and misrepresented, at length attracted the serious atten-

tion of many in different religious denominations, and exercised a salutary influence in opposition to the deadening effects of empty forms and stated rituals. Many of the spiritual views, which, for many years, the Society maintained single handed, have since been taken up and advocated by those who have not been gathered into the same outward fold, and have had no inconsiderable influence in modifying the opinions of other Christian professors.

CHAPTER II.

PRIOR to the year 1654, the religious labors of George Fox, and of such of his fellow believers as had received gifts in the ministry of the gospel, and who had been sent forth by the Lord to proclaim the spirituality of the religion of Jesus Christ, had been very much confined to the northern parts of England. George himself had travelled as far south as Leicestershire; and his earliest female co-laborer in the ministry, Elizabeth Hooten, had preached the gospel and suffered imprisonment therefor in Derbyshire. Towards the close of the year 1653, Elizabeth Williams and Mary Fisher, both from the north, entered Cambridge; and having faithfully reprov'd some of the vain and rude students there, who sought to entrap them in argument, were taken up on a charge of preaching, and publicly whipt by order of the mayor of that city as "vagabonds."

The sight of the blood drawn from the bodies of these innocent women, by the lash of the executioner; their patient endurance of the ignominious and unjust punish-

ment thus inflicted on them ; their prayers for their persecutors, together with their meek rejoicing, because they were counted worthy to suffer for the name and testimony of the Lord Jesus, had no doubt prepared the minds of some of the spectators to examine with serious attention, the principles of that religion, for which they so patiently suffered, and which yielded such support and consolation, under the cruel treatment they received. Thus the brief tarriance of these two Friends at Cambridge, opened the way for the spread of the Truth. In most of the southern counties of England, the Society was little known at this period, except through the vague, contradictory and often false reports, which had been put into circulation respecting them.

In the spring of 1654, several ministers left their former field of labor in the north of England, and travelled into the southern counties, publishing the message of life and salvation, to those who were seeking deliverance from sin, and longing for a more pure and spiritual religion, than that held forth by the hireling ministers, and formal professors around them. Among these ministers was Edward Burrough ; and as the city of London was the field in which he labored long and abundantly, it may not be amiss to give some account of the rise and progress of the principles of Quakerism in that great metropolis.

It appears that the first person professing the doctrines of Friends, who visited it, was Gervase Benson. He was there in the autumn of 1653 ; and a letter written by him from that place to George Fox and James Naylor, is preserved, bearing date, Ninth Month 29th, of that year. He tells them that he was brought there by the love of God, and was kept there waiting on the Lord, to do whatever He might require of him ; though he found little among

the people with which he could have fellowship, except a growing testimony in some against the "carnal actings of magistrates and ministers so called." At that time many public meetings were held, for the purpose of discussing religious subjects. The different fabrics of religious organizations were shaken to their foundations; the minds of the people were in a state of great unsettlement, and many were laboring in their own wills and wisdom, to construct something better than the old hierarchal structure, with its rites, ceremonies and expensive priesthood. To one of these meetings Gervase Benson went, where there were several ministers and members of Parliament. He found them spending their time in debating questions and contending about things which they had not witnessed in themselves. Becoming dissatisfied, he left them, first telling them, however, that their meetings were for the worse, and not for the better.

A spirit of inquiry concerning Friends, had been awakened in many individuals in London, about this time, who had heard of their rise, and of the spread of their principles in the north of England. With such, Gervase Benson had some service.

It is probable that some person in London had acted for Friends, in superintending the printing of their works, before Gervase Benson's visit to that city; for of the books mentioned in Whiting's Catalogue, seven were printed in the year 1652, and twenty-five in 1653. Most of these, if not all, bear this imprint, "London, printed for Giles Calvert, and sold at his shop at the Black Spread Eagle, at the west end of Paul's."

Towards the close of 1653, Isabel Buttery, with a female companion, both of them Friends from the north of England, came to London on a religious visit, where they found


a few individuals, who were willing to receive them and their testimony. Robert Dring opened his dwelling, in Watling Street, and Simon Dring his house in Moorsfield, for them to hold meetings. In these meetings, Isabel sometimes spake a few words; and thus a knowledge of Friends and of their principles, began to find its way into the great city, although this knowledge was confined for a time to very few.

John Camm, who had been travelling through the northern counties, during the latter part of the year 1653, turned his face southward near its close, accompanied by Francis Howgill; and they entered London in the First Month, 1654. A few days before the end of that month, they sought for and obtained an interview with Oliver Cromwell, then recently installed, "Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England." They had no personal advantage or favor to seek from him, but desired rather to admonish him for his own good, and that he might promote the good of all. They exhorted him to look to his own condition, if happily he might be favored to see his standing, in the sight of the Lord God of heaven and earth; that pure and holy Being, who is clothed with power to punish sin, and who will not acquit the wicked. They bade him take heed to the light of Christ Jesus, in his conscience, which would guide him in the great affairs of the nation, as he abode in the fear of the Lord. Then remembering their brethren who were suffering in various parts of the country, for faithfulness to their religious principles, they exhorted the Protector to use his influence to take off from the necks of the Lord's people the yoke of oppression. They assured him, that if his power was exerted to maintain true liberty of conscience, the Lord would honor him by making him an instrument of good in England.

Cromwell affected to believe that they desired some form of religion to be established by law ; but they assured him that they had no such desire ; adding, " We witness [that] the coming of Christ in his kingdom, is not by might, nor power, nor pomp, nor glory from without ; nor by any law which is in the will of man. Our desires are that there should be no law upon [the subject of] religion, for it needs no law to protect it. Pure religion and undefiled is this ; to loose the bands of wickedness, to set the oppressed free, and to take off every yoke." " We are none of those who despise government, and defile the flesh ; who pull down others to exalt themselves. All unfruitful works of darkness we deny, and seek to advance the government of Jesus Christ alone. We honor all men in the Lord, and have fellowship with those whose conversation is as becomes the gospel of Christ."

Cromwell, then in the fresh enjoyment of that high station which he had long so ardently desired, and which gave him the power his ambition coveted, was not disposed to exercise that power in a way that would give offence to those who had raised him to a kingly height ; and to more than kingly authority.

The rights of liberty of conscience were then but imperfectly understood, and as little regarded. Blinded by prejudice and sectarian attachments, many were opposed to all liberty of conscience, except that which tolerated their particular notions, and considered it only the exercise of a Christian virtue, to punish men for differing from them, either in doctrine or practice. Cromwell and some of his adherents seem to have had a glimpse of more liberal and Christian sentiments, and even to have desired a larger measure of toleration ; but there were others whose good opinion they desired, and perhaps needed, who entertained



widely different views, and strenuously opposed every indulgence to dissenting consciences, however sincere and tender.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Cromwell treated the application of John Camm and Francis Howgill on behalf of their friends with much coolness, questioning the authority under which they came to speak with, and advise him. Finding difficulties in the way of a second interview, on the 30th of the First Month, these advocates for liberty of conscience, each addressed a letter to him, setting forth their concern for him, and for the cause of Truth and universal righteousness.

We have but little information respecting the ministerial labors of these two Friends in London, whilst there on this visit. George Fox tells us, that they went to some meetings, "declaring the day of the Lord, and word of life, and where it might be found." They however very soon returned to the north; but Isabel Buttery and her companion still continued in London, and a few persons who attended their meetings were convinced of the truth under their ministry. From a letter, dated London, Fourth Month, 27th, 1654, written by an apprentice, Alexander Delamain, it appears that those who were newly convinced there, of whom the writer was one, were anxiously looking for and expecting Friends from the north, who might confirm their faith and strengthen their hands in upholding the testimonies of Truth. He mentions that Isabel Buttery had gone to Westminster the preceding First-day, "to some to whom her heart was drawn forth;" and that on her way back, she was arrested by order of the mayor, together with Robert Dring's maid, who accompanied her; and that they were committed to Bridewell. The charge against them was for letting people have

Friends' books. Such was the situation of things in London, at the close of the Fourth Month. Some of the inhabitants had obtained a little knowledge of Friends, from their writings; the ministers and magistrates had taken one step against the spread of their principles, and there was as yet but few persons so convinced of them, as to make a public profession. For the most part, the inhabitants of that great city knew or cared but little about them, or the great principles of life and salvation, which they were called to proclaim to the world.

The recently convinced, and the seekers after Truth, did not look in vain for the visits of Friends from the north. The Lord soon sent forth his servants into the south of England to labor in the ministry of the gospel of his dear Son. About sixty left their homes during the Fourth and Fifth Months in this year, and passed onward, as they were led from day to day, proclaiming the day of the Lord, and demonstrating with power the spiritual nature of the Christian dispensation. Their general course was south, through the eastern, western, and middle portions of the island. About the beginning of the Fifth Month, several of them drew near to London.

We learn from Thomas Camm's account of his father, that Edward Burrough and John Camm were fellow-travellers from the north; and that as they journeyed southward, down through the middle of the kingdom, they met with John Audland, to whom John Camm joining himself, turned westward towards Bristol, whilst Edward Burrough proceeded to London, where he arrived in the Fifth Month. Francis Howgill and Anthony Pearson must have entered the city about the same time. On the next First-day of the week, which was probably the 8th of the month, Francis Howgill and Anthony Pearson attended

the meeting of the newly convinced people, which was held at the house of Robert Dring. Edward Burrough the same day was at a meeting of those called Separates, which name was given them, because they had withdrawn themselves from other religious societies. They do not seem to have settled upon any common ground of religious belief; and allowed great liberty in their assemblies to strangers and others, both in preaching and exhortation.

Anthony Pearson, above mentioned, had been a justice of the peace in the north of England, and an opposer of Friends, but was convinced of their principles about 1653. In that year he wrote the following letter, which unfolds the exercises of his mind, and exhibits the thorough work which the religion he had embraced produces in the heart.

He shortly afterwards came forth as a minister among Friends.

“DEAR FRIEND:—I have long professed to serve and worship the true God, and as I thought—above many sects—attained to a high pitch in religion; but now, alas, I find my work will not abide the fire.

“My notions were swelling vanities without power or life; what it was to love enemies, to bless them that curse, to render good for evil, to use the world as using it not, to lay down life for the brethren, I never understood; what purity and perfection meant, I never tasted; all my religion was but the hearing of the ear, the believing and talking of a God and Christ in heaven or a place at a distance, I knew not where.

“Oh! how gracious was the Lord to me in carrying me to Judge Fell’s, to see the wonders of his power and wisdom—a family walking in the fear of the Lord, convers-

ing daily with Him, crucified to the world, and living only to God. I was so confounded, all my knowledge and wisdom became folly; my mouth was stopped, my conscience convinced, and the secrets of my heart were made manifest, and the Lord was discovered to be near, whom I ignorantly worshipped. I could have talked of Christ in the saints the hope of glory, but it was a riddle to me. And truly, dear friend, I must tell thee I have lost all my religion, and am in such distress I have no hope nor foundation left. My justification and assurance have forsaken me, and I am even like a poor shattered vessel tossed to and fro, without a pilot or rudder; as blind, dead, and helpless as thou canst imagine. I never felt corruption so strong, and temptation so prevailing as now; I have a proud, hard, flinty heart, that cannot be sensible of my misery. When I deeply consider how much precious time I have wasted, and how unprofitably I have lived, my spirit feels a sudden fear; but then I am still flying to my old refuge, and there my thoughts are diverted. What it means to wait upon God I cannot apprehend; and the confusions in my own spirit, together with the continual temptations from without, are so great, I cannot understand or perceive the small still voice of the Lord.

“What thou told me of George Fox, I found true; when thou seest him or James Naylor—they both know my condition better than myself—move them—if neither of them be drawn this way—to help me with their counsel by letter; they are full of pity and compassion; and though I was their enemy, they are my friends; and so is Francis Howgill, from whom I received a letter full of tenderness and wholesome advice. Oh! how welcome would the faces of any of them be to me; truly I think I could scorn the world, to have fellowship with them. But

I find my heart is full of deceit, and I exceedingly fear to be beguiled—as I have been—and to be seduced into a form without power, into a profession before I possess the Truth; which will multiply my misery, and deprive me both of God and the world. Dear friend, there is a carrier comes from Kendal within a mile of my house every fortnight, and he shall call at Peter Huggins' to bring any letter that shall be there left for me; it will much refresh me to receive any lines from thee; but be thou faithful. Thou mayest perceive, by my Ashdod language, what countryman I am, even of the low world that lives in darkness. I am afraid lest the orders we made at Appleby,* cause some to suffer, who speak from the mouth of the Lord; I heartily wish they were suppressed or recalled. I have been at Judge Fell's, and have been informed from that precious soul, his consort, in some measure, what those things mean, which before I counted the overflowings of giddy brains. Dear heart, pity and pray for me; and let all obligations of former friendship be discharged in well wishes to the soul of the old family friend, that he may partake with them of your heavenly possessions.

ANTHONY PEARSON."

Richard Hubberthorn soon joined the little band of laborers in London; who in that great city found a large field for the exercise of their various gifts. Many public stated meetings for religious controversy, with the freest scope; and many others for religious edification, equally liberal in their character, were held there in those days. To both classes of these meetings Edward Burrough found his mind drawn; sometimes going alone, whilst at others

* Perhaps as Magistrates.

he was accompanied by one or more of his fellow laborers. They all appear to have been diligently engaged in attending these large public meetings, or the smaller gatherings of those who made profession with them. As they thus were led from one congregation to another, among individuals, many of whom they had never seen before, they were furnished with a word of exhortation, admonition, entreaty or warning, adapted to the various states of those whom they found assembled. Many were reached by their ministry; and not a few were effectually convinced, so that the meetings held at Friends' houses, increased in numbers rapidly; and a great sensation was produced among that portion of the professing religious world, which was seeking after a nearer acquaintance with God, and a more sure way to his kingdom.

John Camm and John Audland, after parting with Edward Burrough, proceeded onward to Bristol, which they entered on the 12th of the Fifth Month. On the 13th they held two meetings in that city, in which they were enabled powerfully to preach the everlasting Gospel, so that through the effectual assistance of the Lord's Holy Spirit, the witness in the hearts of many people was reached. John Audland, in company with Thomas Airey, proceeded to Plymouth, where they left some seals to their ministry.* John Camm turned eastward to London, where we soon find him banded in the fellowship and labors of the Gospel, with the faithful workmen who had for some weeks been engaged there.

Although these early preachers of the word of life were generally listened to with respectful attention in London, yet this was not always the case. About the 20th of the month, Edward Burrough and Richard Hubberthorn

* See the account of Priscilla Cotton in "Piety Promoted."

were at a meeting of the Baptists, held at a place called the Glasshouse, where Edward was permitted to unburden his mind freely. The congregation, however, was not equally courteous to Richard. He may perhaps have given utterance in his communications to some truths, so disagreeable to their pre-conceived opinions or prejudices, that they could not very well bear them. Whatever may have been the cause, they became excited against him, and forcibly expelled him from their place of meeting. They had then a few words of dispute with Edward, who soon after withdrew.

Richard Hubberthorn having been thus ejected from the meeting of the Baptists, joined John Camm, who was that day with a people called Lockers, whose hired preacher had proved himself to be "an hireling," by leaving them in order to obtain promotion. Here our Friends had full liberty to speak, and they were largely opened to declare the Truth among them. The same day Francis Howgill and Anthony Pearson attended the meeting of a religious sect known by the name of Waiters. When they entered the meeting, a man was addressing the company, but he ceased speaking on seeing them come in. Francis soon felt the influence of that anointing which qualifies for labor in the Gospel vineyard, and a large portion of the work fell to his share that day. He opened to them the doctrine of the Light of Christ inwardly revealed, by giving heed to the restraining and directing influence of which, men would be led to Christ Jesus, and enabled to attain salvation. When he had finished the testimony then given him to bear, a man by the name of Rich made a few remarks. He acknowledged that the Light was a guide, and that it led into innocency; but told them that he looked for a greater guide,

which would lead into glory. This sentiment was not satisfactory to Friends.

The Light which they preached is the Spirit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, revealed in the hearts of all mankind, and being himself the Truth, He leads those who follow Him, out of all error and into all truth, and not only brings these faithful servants of Christ into fellowship here on earth, but through the redemption which is in Him, opens to them a glorious resting place in the Paradise of God, in the world which is to come. This Divine Light, therefore, is not only a guide into innocence and purity of life on earth, but also a guide to that eternal glory which shall be revealed hereafter in heaven. Anthony Pearson felt himself constrained more fully to elucidate the views of Friends on this very important doctrine, and afterward Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough, who had just joined his friends, severally added their testimonies to the Truth. The opportunity was satisfactory, and at the conclusion they took an affectionate leave of the auditory.


The next point of time at which we can trace these indefatigable laborers in the Lord's vineyard, was the following Sixth-day, when they attended a meeting for religious worship with those who were newly convinced of Friends' principles. There were now many such in London, and the hearts of the faithful ministers and fathers in the Truth, yearned over these with earnest desires that they might not only be established in knowledge but grow in grace, and thus be enabled to walk worthy of their vocation whereunto they were called. On First-day, the 22nd, Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill were at a meeting held in a large place called Ely-house. A man, who in the account left us of this opportunity, is spoken of

as the governor of the house, first spoke to the people assembled. Then a Ranter addressed the company. Whilst he was still speaking, Edward Burrough, whose heart was full of deep religious concern on behalf of those present, rose on his feet. At the sound of his voice the Ranter ceased speaking. Edward, though quite a young man, was clothed with a Divine authority which reached the hearts, touched the consciences, and convinced the judgment, of many who heard him. When he ceased, the Ranter again spoke; and then Francis Howgill, in a measure of the same power, which had quickened the ministry of his younger brother, labored among them for about the space of an hour. As he closed, the Ranter being full of that self-sufficiency which is the common attendant of those whose religion is more in word and imagination than in life and power, appealed to the people to decide whether he had not spoken to their consciences as thoroughly as Edward and Francis had done. To this the people with one consent answered, "No." The governor, indignant at the thought that his own reputation, as well as the Ranter's, had suffered in the opinion of those gathered, refused to grant the request made by Friends, for liberty to hold a meeting in the house in the afternoon.

That morning John Camm was with a company of people who were engaged in preparing a new translation of the Scriptures, for the purpose of making it support certain doctrinal views. At mid-day these Friends met together, under feelings, no doubt, of gratitude to the Lord who had strengthened them for their several portions of service during the morning. In the afternoon Richard Hubberthorn attended the meeting of Friends; whilst Francis Howgill and Anthony Pearson, feeling

their minds drawn to sit with those translators of the Scriptures, of whom we have already spoken, went to their meeting, where they had some seasonable service. Before they left, a dispute concerning some point arose, and they mutually agreed that all doctrines should be tested by the Scriptures. Friends were so well furnished by the great Head of the Church with wisdom in argument, and the memory of apposite texts, that their opposers were confounded. Edward Burrough was that afternoon at a place of worship in Lombard Street, at which many of the highest professors of religion in the city attended. Here he sat in silence, until the priest had gone through his accustomed round of singing, praying, &c., which constituted, in the general estimation, the service of a meeting. Before the priest closed his performance, Edward was joined by Richard Hubberthorn, Francis Howgill and Anthony Pearson. The usual exercises of the meeting being now finished, Edward stepped upon a seat, and in a loud and animated voice addressed the congregation. There was such sensible evidence of the baptizing power of the Holy Spirit, accompanying the word preached, that the whole congregation listened to him with quiet attention. He addressed them about an hour, and when he closed, his nearly united friend and companion, Francis Howgill, was also permitted to relieve his mind among them.

In the meantime, John Camm was at a meeting of Baptists, where his mouth was opened to preach the freeness of the grace and gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. In the evening they all met together in sweet unity of spirit, and closed the day in peace, enjoying the communion and fellowship of the saints, and the fresh feeling of the Heavenly Father's love. This is a history of one of




the many days of faithful and laborious service, which those ministers of Christ spent in London.

On one occasion they held an appointed meeting on the Fourth-day of the week, in a room in Southwark, which on First-days was occupied by Anabaptists as a place of worship. Many of those who usually attended these meetings were present, and were well pleased with the doctrines which were then preached. But whilst these were satisfied, some who had not been present, found fault with the principles of Friends, and with their fellow-professors, who had permitted the meeting to be held in their room. Their preacher, or as he was termed, Teacher, spread many false reports against Friends, to which those who had heard for themselves gave no credit. Dissatisfaction on this account and dissensions arose among them, which resulted in a secession of many of the flock.

On the 23rd of the Fifth Month, Anthony Pearson left his fellow laborers in London, and returned to his family in Westmoreland. Writing to George Fox, at the close of this month, he tells him, that they found many in London, with a true principle of honesty in them. But, he says, the people of that place, are "for the most part so high-flown in wisdom and notions, it is hard to reach them." Trusting in their own strength and attainments, they were apt, if these were called in question, or judgment placed upon them, to become angry. Anthony expresses his conviction that much true wisdom was needful in those who attempted to labor among them. He thinks that the only effectual mode of bringing them to the truth, would be by reaching, through the convicting power of the Holy Spirit, the witness for God in their consciences; and whilst broken and contrited under its operations, to pass judgment upon them, and keep them

out of disputing and questioning. "This," he says, "we found the most profitable ministry. Few words must be used, for they have the Truth in notions, and all cry out, 'What do these men say, more than others have said?' but to bring them to silence, confounds their wisdom." "Oh that none might come to London but those who are raised up into the life of Truth; who dwell in the living power of God, whose words may have authority: for there are so many mighty in wisdom to oppose and gainsay, that weak ones will suffer the Truth to be trampled on. And there are so many rude, savage apprentices, and young people, and ranters, that nothing but the power of the Lord can chain them." "Great is the harvest likely to be in that city. Hundreds are convinced, and thousands wait to see the issue, who have the persuasion that it is the Truth." "Many honest hearts are among the Waiters, and some that are joined to the Ranters, are a pretty people. The living power of God was made manifest, to the confounding of all, and we were carried above ourselves, to the astonishment both of ourselves and others. We were made to speak tremblingly amongst them, in dread and much fear."

Edward Burrough in a letter to Margaret Fell, written about this time, informs her, that "We were at a meeting of the people called Waiters, where Richard Hubberthorn spake about an hour in much power and authority. Francis was moved to go to an assembly of people called Seekers, and they were, as all this generation practices, jangling and contending about the meaning of the Scriptures. He stood silent among them a little, and then spake the word of the Lord, in power with boldness an hour or more, and confounded their wisdom, and crushed their meaning of



the Scripture. He said, there were some pretty people among them."

John Audland and Thomas Airey, having fulfilled their visit to Plymouth and the west of England, early in the Sixth Month, came eastward to London. Here John remained for a few weeks, and as ability from on high was given him, entered into that extensive field of labor; which his faithful brethren in religious belief, were so zealously and successfully cultivating there. It was now past the middle of summer, the Sixth Month old style, corresponding with the Eighth in the new. At this period of the year, many of the tradesmen and mechanics of London, were in the habit of assembling in the fields, on the outskirts of the city, near the close of dry and pleasant days, to amuse themselves in wrestling, or in watching others so engaged. One evening as Edward Burrough was passing by, his attention was drawn to a company of people assembled round an athletic man, who had already thrown several competitors, and was then waiting for another. As no one offered to enter the ring with him, he seemed flushed with pride at his success, and full of vain glory, because of that strength and activity of body, which was given him by his Creator for nobler purposes. As the wrestler thus stood in the pride of his strength, with the crowd of admiring spectators around him, Edward Burrough stepped into the ring. The successful champion looked with surprise at this new opponent, whose serious countenance and solid demeanor, seemed so little like the usual light, and unmanly deportment of the competitors, in these trials of strength and agility. If the wrestler was astonished, the idle gazers around him were not less so; and they watched with intense interest, to see the result. But the object of this

youthful minister of Christ, was not to wrestle with flesh and blood. The weapons of his warfare were not carnal, though mighty through God to the pulling down of the strong holds of sin and satan. He had been redeemed by the effectual workings of the grace of God, in his own heart, from the spirit of the world, with all its vain pleasures and pastimes, and he was now enlisted under the banner of the Prince of Peace, the captain of salvation, in making war with the spirit of anti-christ, and against all the corruptions which abound in the world. It had become his meat and drink to do his Master's will; and he felt it his pleasure, no less than his duty, to labor to gather souls to Christ—to turn men and women from darkness to light, and from the power of satan unto God. Clothed with authority from his Divine Master—after standing a few moments, he addressed the bystanders in a powerful and awakening manner, to which they listened with attention and wondering admiration. He told them that their heavenly Father had not left himself without a witness in the heart of man; but had placed in every one a measure of his grace or holy spirit, by which man was at times enlightened to see his fallen condition, and to feel the necessity of regeneration. Many of his hearers were deeply affected by his discourse, for he was very aptly called, “A breaker of stony hearts; a son of thunder, as well as a consoler of the contrite in spirit.” The labors thus bestowed, in this strangely gathered meeting, were made, through the Divine blessing qualifying the instrument, and preparing the hearts of the hearers for the reception of the seed sown, effectual in turning the feet of some of them into the way of peace, and leading them to a knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus. Thus this spiritual wrestler was made victorious in this new

arena, and having been faithful to the requirings of duty, in thus publicly wrestling against wickedness, he retired from the ring in peace.

Of the inhabitants of London, it might have been said at that time in truth, "Many were daily added to the church." Gilbert Latey, was one of these. He was of an honest, sober life, and had been earnestly engaged in seeking after spiritual good, even durable riches and righteousness. Being informed that some men come out of the north, were to have a meeting at the house of Sarah Matthews, a widow who lived in White-cross Street, he went thither, and heard Edward Burrough, who was that day led in his ministry to set forth the free gospel of Christ Jesus. Being effectually reached by the power and authority which accompanied the word preached, his heart was opened and prepared to receive with gladness the Truth, in the love of it. He believed in, and turned to the light of Christ Jesus in his conscience, and followed its leadings, "greatly rejoicing that he had found his soul's beloved." He was strengthened to take up the cross to worldly honor, to deny self and the praise of men, and to despise the shame, which the men of the world are ever ready to cast upon the true disciples of Christ. Being thus humbled, and having been made willing to be despised for Christ's sake and the gospel's, he was united to the flock of newly convinced Friends in London; and in due time became eminently useful among them.

The following letter to Margaret Fell, exhibiting a little of the labors of Friends in and about London, during the Sixth Month, was written by Edward Burrough on behalf of himself and Francis Howgill, who also signed it. This will account for the alteration of

the singular to the plural pronoun, which is to be found in it.

London, 29th of Sixth Month, 1654.

“DEAR SISTER.—Great is our care and charge. Pray that we may be kept in faithfulness and boldness in the work of the Lord committed to us, and that wisdom may guide us to handle the sword; that we may clearly discern what to spare and what to destroy. Great is our travail, till Christ be brought forth in this people; and our suffering is ever with and for the pure seed, which lies in bondage. We two are constrained to stay in this city; but we are not alone, for the power of our Father is with us, and it is daily made manifest through weakness, even to the stopping the mouths of lions, and to the confounding of the serpent’s wisdom. Eternal praises to Him for evermore!

“In this city, iniquity is grown to the height, the serpent’s wisdom is grown fully ripe. Here are the subtlest serpents to grapple with and war withal; but in the eternal light, which is our shield and buckler, are they comprehended and their deceits made manifest to us; and by the light they are judged and condemned.

“We have three meetings or more every week, very large, more than any place will contain which we can conveniently meet in. Many of all sorts come to us, and many of all sects are convinced, yea, hundreds do believe; and by the power of the gospel declared amongst them, is the witness of God raised, which shall never die. There are some brought under the power exceedingly, which strikes terror in the hearts of many; and many lie under true judgment, and a true life is raised up in many, and the time of redemption is drawing nigh. As yet we know little of our departing from hence; to all, do

we and shall we, clear our consciences, and be free from the blood of all men, and finish our testimony. Many begin to consider of us, and think there is something more in it than a bare notion; at the first they looked upon it as no more; but it sinks deep inward in many, for to that we speak, which brings us in remembrance when they see us not.

"The last First-day but one, (Sixth Month 19th), I was at a steeple-house in the forenoon, and had liberty to speak what I was free, and passed away to the meeting in the afternoon. Last First-day, (26th) Richard Hubberthorn and I went twelve miles out of the city, to a great meeting of Separatists, to a place called Theobolds,* where many great men were, and officers in the army, and such like: and we had pretty liberty to let forth ourselves, but at the end, the heads of them put us violently forth, which many simple minds owned not in them. The Fourth-day of last week (22nd) we had a meeting in Southwark, in a large room, where some Anabaptists meet on the First-days; several of them were there, and many hundred people.

"Our dear brethren John Audland and John Camm, went from us the last Sixth-day, out of the city towards Oxford, to be there the last First-day, (26th); our hearts were broken in separating one from another, for our lives are bound up in one, and we partake of one another's sufferings, and of one another's joy. We receive letters every week from the prisoners† at Chester. The work of

* This is near Waltham Abbey. Richard Hubberthorn passed on after this meeting to Cambridge, where on the 28th, he was arrested, and with James Parnell, cast into prison.

† These probably were Edward Ogden and Richard Costhorph, and perhaps there were some others. Richard was fixed in the

the Lord goes on gloriously in that county. There is precious seed there; and Anthony Pearson writes to us of the like in the county of Bishopricks (Durham). It is ever our reward to hear that the Lord is raising that up in power, which was sown in weakness: to the Lord be glory, be glory for evermore!

“Remember us dearly to all Friends, for we are refreshed in the remembrance of you. Our chiefest care is, that we may be preserved in obedience, in power and in wisdom; that the Lord may be glorified by us. We rest from writing, but continue to be thy dearly beloved brethren in the Lord.

EDWARD BURROUGH,
FRANCIS HOWGILL.”

Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill were still usefully occupied in London. Those who had been co-workers with them there, had all left them, and were now laboring in various parts of England, as the Lord led and qualified them for his work and service. John Camm and John Audland, after visiting Oxfordshire, passed on to Bristol, where a rich harvest awaited them. They held various meetings in that city, the first of which was on the 10th of the Seventh Month; and many were convinced of the Truth under their ministry.

place of torture, called *little ease*. Besse says, “it was a hole hewed out in a rock, the breadth across from side to side, was seventeen inches; from the back to the inside of the great door at the top, seven inches; at the shoulders eight inches; at the breast nine inches and a half. From the top to the bottom one yard and a half, with a device to lessen the length, as they minded to torment the person put in, by drawing boards which shot over the two sides to a yard in height, or thereabouts.” Many Friends during this year, suffered in this place.

From the following letter, written by Francis Howgill to Robert Widders, we may gather some further particulars of the labors of Edward Burrough and himself in London.

London, 23rd of Seventh Month, 1654.

“DEAR BROTHER.—E. B. and I stay still in London. Large is the love of God to us, and the work of the Lord prospers in our hands: eternal, living praises [to Him] for evermore. We are here among this great people in much weakness; and when we see such multitudes, we are often put to a stand where one might get bread to satisfy so many. But the wisdom and power of God has been with us, and there are hundreds convinced; but not many great or noble do receive our testimony. Yet there are many put to a stand, and brought into silence; and many are under deep judgment, and a true power. We have had many great giants to encounter, but by the power of the Lord the mouths of lions have been stopped, and our adversaries have been put to flight. We have been in great service continually since we came into this filthy place. Here is the trimmed harlot, the mystery of witchcraft; the devil rules and is head in all sorts.

“We have been at the most eminent societies in the city, and we have had strong fightings with them over and over, and at some steeple-houses; and, but that they have our persons in contempt, they say none speak like us; but the devil cannot stoop so low. We have two or three meetings in the week, but no place large enough; so that we are much put to it. We have been guided in much wisdom, so that all them that hate us have nothing to accuse us of—as of tumult, or disorder in the least. Some want to entrap us, but in wisdom we are guided; praised be the Lord!

“Miles Halhead and James Lancaster* were here and came to visit us. They stayed one First-day, and so were moved towards Cambridge. We are much refreshed; we receive letters from all quarters; the work goes on fast everywhere. Richard Hubberthorn is yet in prison, and James Parnell, at Cambridge. Our dear brethren, John Audland and John Camm, we hear [from], and we write to one another twice in the week. They are near us—they are precious; and the work of the Lord is great about Bristol.

“Pray for us, dear brother, that we may be kept in wisdom and power; that the living God may be exalted for evermore. My dear yoke fellow salutes thee.

“Thy dear friend in the work of the Lord.

FRANCIS HOWGILL.”

Under date of the 2nd of the Eighth Month, Francis Howgill writes: “Our burden is great, we cannot get any separation [that is of Friends from others], for the multitude, and so Friends do not know one another. We cannot conveniently get any place to meet in, that Friends may sit down.”

Through the Divine blessing on the labor bestowed, many had been convinced, and several small meetings of Friends were set up about this time in London, and regularly held. On First-day mornings, some of the Friends collected together at the house of Sarah Matthews, widow, residing in White-cross Street; and in the afternoons of that day they met at Simon Dring’s in Moorfields. It

* Miles Halhead and James Lancaster, early in this year, left Westmoreland to labor in the northern parts of England. They also visited Scotland; and afterwards travelled south, and entered London, early in the Seventh Month.

would seem that there were meetings also at the houses of other Friends, and sometimes at Glazier's Hall. Besides these meetings some were appointed, in almost or quite every week, at such suitable public places as could be procured for the purpose. A great sensation had been made in the minds of the people throughout London. The convincing power that accompanied the ministry of Friends had produced such results, that the priests beheld with dismay, many of their congregations leaving them. The doctrines preached by Friends were not new, they were primitive Christianity revived in its ancient spirituality; and the quickening power which attended their ministry, awakened and aroused the lukewarm, while it met a ready response from the sincere seekers after truth. Instead of calling the attention of their hearers to curious speculations and outward forms and observances, they directed them to Christ Jesus their Shepherd and Bishop, who had given them a measure of his Light and grace to profit withal, and which, as they obeyed and followed it, would lead them out of all evil, into holiness of life and conversation, and that living faith in Christ Jesus, as the Redeemer and Sanctifier of his people, which is the gift of God and the saints' victory over the world, the flesh and the devil. It is a practical, heart-changing religion, adapted by Infinite Wisdom for the recovery of man out of the fall, and for preparing him, through sanctification of the Spirit and a belief of the truth, for the blessedness of heaven.

CHAPTER III.

JOHN CAMM and John Audland were the first preachers amongst Friends, who visited the southwest of England. In the Fifth Month 1654, they were in Bristol, at which place they appointed meetings, which were largely attended; many of their hearers were seriously awakened, and not a few were convinced of the Truth.* Their first visit to the city was brief, but they returned in the Seventh Month, after they left London. They held many meetings in Bristol and its vicinity, and the same overshadowing influence of the Divine presence was with them, as attended their first labor there. The newly convinced were confirmed, and the opposing spirit in some was shaken. They left Bristol again about the 22nd of the Seventh Month, and travelling north, were at a meeting at Hereford on the 25th, from whence they proceeded to Bramyard.

In the Eighth Month, Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill left London, under a concern to visit Bristol. They reached that place about the middle of the Eighth Month, and on the next First-day, the 21st, they had a meeting in the Castle, which was attended by many hundreds of people. When the meeting was over, in order to obtain a little quiet retirement from the company of interested and inquiring persons, who constantly thronged about them, they retired into the country, to the residence

* Josiah Cole, Charles Marshall and many besides, who afterwards proved valiant men and women in supporting the doctrines of Friends, were convinced at these meetings.



of a captain in the army, about one mile from the city. Their plan to obtain seclusion did not succeed, for many followed them and filled the house. Every day of the succeeding week they had meetings either within or without the city, largely attended by the citizens, and crowned with the sensible evidence of Divine regard. On the morning of the following First-day (28th), they were in the city, at the house of George Bishop, then a military captain, but afterward a soldier of Christ Jesus the Prince of Peace. His house was large, but it proved altogether inadequate to accommodate those who came. In the afternoon they went out to the fort, and at the meeting held there, it is supposed two thousand persons were present, amongst whom were many of the great men and women of the city. This large assembly was very quiet, but the multitude was so great, that the preachers could scarcely extend their voices, so that those in the outskirts could hear. When the services of the meeting had closed, Edward and Francis found it difficult to get away from the awakened crowd; and they say in a letter to Margaret Fell that they were obliged to retire into a private chamber.

The priests and magistrates were incensed at the effects produced by the gospel labors of these ministers of Christ, and determined if possible to find some cause of complaint against them. On Second-day they came into the city, and going to the house of a merchant, information was soon spread. The mayor, aldermen, justices of the peace, with some of the priests assembled, and a sergeant was sent to bring the strangers before them. Edward and Francis, conscious of having violated no law, readily obeyed the summons, and were accompanied by many of the military officers and great men of the city, who had

been in a measure reached through their ministry. These were not, however, allowed to be present at the examination that took place. After Edward and Francis had informed those before whom they were taken, that they had come according to their desire, the magistrates manifested great wrath because they did not take off their hats. Being informed that it was not out of contempt of authority, but for conscience sake that Friends did not uncover the head to their fellow men, they were asked their names and country. We will give the rest in Francis Howgill's words, contained in a letter to Margaret Fell, which was signed by Edward Burrough.

"They asked us how we came to the city, and we answered them ; and told them the command and motion of the Lord, that we had to bear witness to his name and to declare the Gospel committed unto us. It was asked whether our call was mediate or immediate ; we answered immediate ; we denied all mediate calls, for they were carnal. They said if we had the same immediate call declare it. Then I declared what I had been and what I was. We declared where we had habitations, and that at the command of God we left them ; we spoke about a quarter of an hour, and they gave audience. They asked if we accused all ministers in England ? We said no ; there were many ministers of Christ in England, and we had unity with them ; but all hirelings, and such as sought for their gain from their quarter, we denied. They pleaded for hire, and said the light was natural, and that every one had it not, and the like. They also said, we dishonored the Gospel. After much striving and contending, when they could not ensnare us, they all cast their ears together, and said, we had tumultuous meetings, to which one of their own [number] answered, there were

many godly honest people [collected] without tumult. So they could get naught against us, and they commanded us to depart out of the town ; but we were bold, and said, we were free-born men, and we knew no law we had transgressed, and therefore we should not be at any man's will ; but when He moved us that called us, we should [depart] ; and come in again as He moved. So we passed away, and all the people were silent, and the priest and magistrates were enraged. We staid till night, and then went out of the city. This day [Ninth Month] we were moved to come in again, and walk the streets.

“Here is a pretty people, and a great harvest ; it is like that bonds will attend us ; but all is one ; in the will of God we stand free, out of all. John Audland and John Camm, we see not yet, but expect their coming. Here is a thirsty land ; and truly, the sound of the Gospel committed to us, is gone through all the regions round about. The living God of life preserve us in his eternal power and wisdom ; in the will of the Lord we stand, and none can take away our joy.

“Salute us dearly to George Fox ; one hour with him would be great joy to us. We [have] want of nothing without ; the Lord reward thee (and thou hast thy reward), for the care and love over all the church of Christ.”


The account of this interview, given in the “Sufferings of Friends,” relates rather more of their reply to the magistrates ; it closes thus : “We are free-born Englishmen, and have served the commonwealth in faithfulness, being free in the presence of God from the transgression of any law. To your command we cannot be obedient, but if by violence you put us out of the city, and have power to do it, we cannot resist.”

They continued in and about Bristol, laboring to fulfill

the requiring of their Divine Master, during the Ninth Month, and it would appear without molestation. The magistrates astonished at their innocent boldness, knew not what to do with them, and the priests had not yet matured their plan for stirring up a persecuting spirit in the mob, by whose hands in a few weeks afterward, John Cannm and John Audland suffered much abuse. In the meantime, the faith of those who had been convinced of the Truth in that neighborhood, was strengthened by the labors of these faithful Friends, and they grew in grace, so that they were enabled in a remarkable manner by their constancy in sufferings and imprisonments, to hold up a light to the world.

Rumors of the great meetings held by Friends in Bristol, spread far and wide through the country; and twelve Baptists came out of Wiltshire, to have a public dispute with Edward and Francis. A meeting was accordingly held, and their confident challengers being unable, either to defend their own views, or controvert the doctrine of those they had come to overthrow—fled from the contest.

On returning home in order to cover their defeat, they reported that the Quakers cursed and swore, and denied Christ and the Scriptures. These reports reached the ears of Edward and Francis, who were about leaving Bristol to return to London; the care of Friends there still resting upon them. Edward had also some controversial tracts about passing through the press in that city. It was early in the Tenth Month, that they took leave of their friends at Bristol, and passing into Wilts, came to the town where the discomfited champions had spread those false reports. The people of the place were very fierce towards them, but they obtained liberty for a meeting in



the market place to clear themselves. As they went to it, they felt a sense of great inward weakness and insufficiency, which led them to look to the alone source of strength and true wisdom for assistance. A large company gathered, amongst whom was the mayor of the town, and a justice of the peace. They soon felt the power of the Lord strengthening them; so that for two hours they spoke with irresistible authority, in defence of the Truth. They then had a dispute with two of the Baptists for four hours, at the conclusion of which their opponents laid aside all boasting. The justice of the peace thus expressed his satisfaction, and said he had never heard any who spake like them, and invited them to his house, where on the following day they went. In the evening, the mayor of the town called on them, confessed that they had spoken the truth, and said if he did not witness to it, his conscience would witness against him.

This dispute opened their way in Wiltshire, and they had many meetings. They stayed two days at the house of Justice Stoker, who with his wife, was convinced of the Truth, as were many others. When they departed for London, the justice sent his man and horses to take them fifteen miles on their way. From this circumstance, it is evident that their travels were much on foot. It would appear from a passage in George Fox's journal, that almost immediately after they reached London, Francis Howgill must have returned to Bristol. Edward Burrough remained a short time in London, but towards the close of the Tenth Month, he met with his friend and former companion, at a general meeting held at Swanington, in Leicestershire.

By whose agency this meeting was called, no information appears to have been preserved. George Fox says

of it, "many Ranters, Baptists, and other professors came." The Ranters were as usual wild and rude, but the power of Truth was present to confound them. On the second day of the meeting, "Jacob Bottomly, a great Ranter, came from Leicester;" but he too was restrained by the Lord's power, as was also a priest, who attempted to oppose. George Fox says, "the priests, Baptists, Ranters, and other professors were very rude, and stirred up rude people against us. We sent to the Ranters to come forth and try their god. Abundance of them came, who sung, whistled and danced; but the Lord's power so prevailed over them, that many of them were convinced."

From Swanington, Edward and Francis returned to London. Among the changes which had taken place in that city, several of the newly convinced had been called and anointed to preach the Gospel of life and salvation.

Let us now examine what Edward Burrough had been doing with his pen this year, in which as we have seen, he had been so abundantly occupied in ministerial labors. Soon after Friends began to hold meetings in London, many Anabaptists, being convinced of the truth of the Gospel, joined them. This stirred up the zeal of some of their late companions, who still considered Quakerism to be a dangerous heresy, and occasioned the publication of a book entitled, "The Quaker Principles, dashed in pieces by Enoch Hewitt, an Anabaptist." Edward Burrough was prompt in answering this, and in the strong and quaint language generally adopted for the titles of books in that day, called his tract "The walls of Jericho razed down to the ground, or an answer to a lying book, called the Quakery, &c." One of the charges which Hewitt in his tract makes against Friends is, "They oppose the word of Christ to the written word; and will have a word that is

a discovery spiritual, to be the word ; but whatsoever it is they call the word, it is perfectly false, and not the truth."

Edward reproves him for allowing his misstatements to be carried up and down the streets of London as ballads, and says, " We do not oppose Christ to the Scriptures; for Christ is the word, and this the Scriptures doth not oppose, but bear witness to Him who is the word; and his name is called the word of God. And this Word became flesh and dwelt among us, as the Scriptures witness; and the word of the Lord endureth forever. Thou that wouldst set up the letter in the place of God, to try all things, and to search all hearts—thou makest an idol of it, and so opposes God with it, and would bring that to contend against the Lord, which they witnessed through suffering. I tell thee and all the world, the word is but one, and all who know God, hear that word. It is a light and a lantern to their paths; but that is invisible and eternal, and what the saints witnessed of his word, they declared, and the Scripture is true, and bears a true record and testimony of the word, and they were witnesses of the word of life that wrote it. It is a true declaration of these things that are certainly believed, of the which they saw, and heard and tasted." "Let all that have heard us in the city of London, or elsewhere, speak, if they heard us say the Scriptures were useless, or did disesteem them; but on the contrary we exhorted them to search if the Scriptures did not bear witness to these things we declared; and so let shame cover thy face, thou false accuser."


To the charge of denying the Lord Jesus, that was crucified for them; Edward Burrough says, " We deny not the Lord that bought us, for by Him can we say we have received the end of his coming, and of his death and as-

cension ; even He hath purchased us, and set us free from the power and kingdom of the devil."

Edward Burrough bears a clear testimony to the belief of Friends, in the resurrection and ascension of Christ, and in replying to the charge of denying the ordinances of God, and the Lord who bought them, he says, "The way unto God and unto everlasting life, which is Christ Jesus, we do not deny, but are true witnesses, that the same Christ alone, which was crucified at Jerusalem, and which God had raised from the dead, and which is ascended, in Him alone is salvation, and by Him also alone are all justified that believe on Him. This we declare freely unto all people, that Christ is the ordinance of God, ordained by Him for the salvation of all that believe, and for the condemnation of all that believe not in Him. And that the way unto this Christ is not any outward visible thing, but even that which is manifested from Him, and leads up unto Him ; even the light, by which He hath enlightened every one that cometh into the world, which is spiritual as Christ is spiritual."

"The one baptism, which is by one spirit into one body, into the death of Christ, we are witnesses of ; and the bread which we break, is the communion of the body of Christ ; and we being many are one bread ; but the beggarly elements of the world we testify against, being witnesses of the substance." After declaring once more Friends' willingness to be judged by the Scriptures, he concludes thus : "If thou find any that disown the Scriptures, we also disown such, and do say, they are not spiritual men, but have the spirit of antichrist."

E. Burrough's next work was an answer to certain questions put forth by a priest called Philip Bennet, and a ranting deceiver named John Reeve. This was followed



by a review of a work entitled "Choice Experiences, written by J. Turner, a female." In this review he shows wherein the doctrine contained in the "Choice Experiences," is contrary to the truth.


The success attending the ministry of Friends, and the rapid increase of their converts, created at this time great alarm among many of the ministers of other societies. They were stirred up to oppose and vilify the principles and practices of those, who seemed taking away their congregations. Many pamphlets were put forth, the evident design of which was to make Friends appear ridiculous, heretical and dangerous in the eyes of the community. None of these pamphlets appear to have been suffered to go unanswered. One of them written by a John Griffith, entitled "A voice from the word of the Lord, to those grand impostors called Quakers," called forth a prompt and spirited reply from Edward Burrough. In this essay, Edward Burrough makes frequent declarations of the full belief in, and regard for the Holy Scriptures, which he and his brethren in religious profession, entertained, as well as many other points of Christian doctrine, some of which we shall quote:

"That we reject and despise the Scriptures, and the words which Christ spake, which thou accusest us of, is another false slander: for the Scriptures we own in their place, and by the Spirit of God set to our seals, that they are true." "I charge thee with a lie in thy mouth, who sayest, 'We would not have men read the Scriptures.' They who have heard us, shall witness that, that we do direct to search the Scriptures, whether our doctrine be true, and by the Scriptures shall our doctrine be tried."

John Griffith says, "they talk of high enjoyments and great revelations, without, above, and beyond the Scrip-

tures, and of a light, which is besides the Scriptures, but it is deep and thick darkness. And what hath such lights led men into? even contempt of God, and of all righteousness." He also adds, "they call the Scriptures a dead letter."

Edward Burrough replies: "Here thou art an accuser of the brethren; for what we do declare, the Scriptures witness to the same. We speak of nothing, but what is declared of in the Scriptures, by the holy men of God; and neither without it, nor above, nor beyond it, do we speak. I challenge thee to prove what thou hast asserted, and all the city of London, whether we have spoken or declared anything but what the Scriptures bear witness to. And the light which we declare of, is the light of Christ; which the Scriptures saith, hath enlightened every one that comes into the world. It is not besides the Scriptures, so as [to be] contrary to it, but the Scriptures bear witness of the light; and here I charge thee with blasphemy, who says, the light of Christ, which is the light that we declare of, hath led them or leads any to condemn God, or his ordinances, or righteousness." "If you know any who cry against the Scriptures, and against the doctrine therein contained, we cry and declare against such; for the Scriptures we own in its place to be a true declaration of God, of Christ, and of the saints' conditions; but they are not the light, but Christ is the light, as themselves bear witness. Nor are they the saint's guide, but the Spirit that gave them forth [is], as they themselves bear testimony. Neither were the Scriptures given forth to give your own imaginations and suppositions upon—but they themselves are doctrine—and are as they speak; he that hath the same Spirit which spake them forth, reads them, and understands them, and none else."



CHAPTER IV.

AFTER a few weeks spent in fervent labor in London, Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill went out again in the service of their Divine Master. Whilst they were absent, George Fox was brought to the city to be examined by Oliver Cromwell. Although nominally a prisoner, yet he was not restrained from going abroad, and attending the meetings of Friends. He was as yet a stranger to the great body of the young converts there, and kept himself much retired, not mingling amongst them, except at meetings. The way of this eminent man was soon open amongst them, and they could but take notice of the respectful deference paid him by the faithful brethren, his fellow laborers in the Gospel of Christ Jesus, who met him in London. Many of these had been effectually reached under his ministry, and having had evidence of the wisdom that had been given him from above, they could not but consider him as a father in the Truth, worthy of double honor. This honor was not manifested in flattering words, which tend to exalt the creature—but there was a disposition to hear and observe the remarks he made in social minglings, as well as in religious meetings;—and Alexander Parker informs us, that the London Friends all took notice of one thing: “if George be in the company, all the rest are for the most part silent.”

On the 6th-of the First Month 1655, George Fox was set at liberty by the Proteetor, and about that time, Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill met him in London.

There were many other ministers gathered there, and Edward informs Margaret Fell, that on the next First-day, the 10th, George Fox was in private with Friends, that is, he attended the small meetings in private houses, where Friends gathered by themselves. He adds, "we two were in the general meeting place,* among the rude world, threshing and ploughing. The rest of our brethren were that day at several meetings, some at one and some at another, and some among the Baptists, and gathered people; and great service there was that day. Then shortly after that First-day, the brethren separated into the field, to reap and to gather in." After describing the field of labor, into which several of these brethren had entered, he continues, "We believe that [George Fox] will return to this city again; we two are too few for this service, for truly it is very great; at present many come in daily to the acknowledgment of the Truth. Friends are so many, that not one place can hold them on the First-days, where we can peaceably meet, for the rude people; for since we came they have been very rude—very oft to pull us down, when we have been speaking. George was at the great meeting place, two First-days before we came; and his voice and outward man was almost spent amongst them.

"We have thus ordered it since we came—we get Friends on the First-days to meet together in several places out of the rude multitude, &c.; and we two go to the great meeting place, which we have, which will hold a thousand people, which is always nearly filled, [there] to thresh among the world; and we stay till twelve or one o'clock, and then pass away, the one to one place, and the

* Probably the Bull and Mouth.

other to another place, where Friends are met in private, and stay till four or five o'clock.

"Truly, dear hearts, our care is for the whole body, that all things may be ordered in the wisdom of God, to the confounding of all our adversaries, who seek for our halting."

The number of ministering Friends, who were now frequently in London, many of them persons of very small means, and who could ill afford to bear their own travelling expenses, furnished an opportunity to their brethren of that city for contributing occasionally to their necessities; yet a care rested on the minds of the travellers, not to be burdensome to any. Alexander Parker writes, "We do not want for anything; here are many precious Friends in this city, who would do anything for us, or let us have anything, but George [Fox] is not very free, but rather keeps clear." It is probable that Friends in other places, particularly Margaret Fell, sent of their abundance to Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill, for their care in furnishing supplies to the faithful travellers, who had not of their own. Alexander Parker says, "If any want, our friends F. and E. supply them. The charge truly is great, but our desire is to make it as easy as possibly we can."

George Fox, who had left London before the middle of the First Month 1655, returned to it again on First-day the 31st of the same month. Alexander Parker thus writes of the services of that day. "We had five meetings, three of Friends that met in silence, and George was at one of them, where many of the world came in, but were sober. Francis and Edward were at the great meeting place, where many came to hear. Gervase Benson and I were at a meeting beyond Westminster,

where there are many convinced : in the forenoon having such short notice there were not many ; but in the afternoon there came very many, and they were sober, quiet people."

Just before the middle of the Second Month, Edward Burrough left London and went to Edmundbury in Suffolk, where he was soon joined by Francis Howgill. They passed on together to the Isle of Ely, where at the time of the assizes they had a very favored meeting. Here they found James Parnell, who informed them that the Baptists at Cambridge had challenged him to a public dispute. Feeling a willingness to be present, they accompanied him to that place at the time appointed. It was the 20th of the Second Month. The steeple-house had been selected by the Baptists as the most suitable place for accommodating those who might wish to witness the controversy ; but when the hour came they found it shut. In the meantime the whole town was in an uproar, and the scholars as usual rude and turbulent. The Baptists, finding that James Parnell had two such able assistants with him, were unwilling to carry on the dispute. Edward and Francis perceiving the commotion to increase about them, with intimations of personal violence, and no present appearance of the dispute being allowed, returned to the house of Justice Blakeling. James continued with the Baptists, who retreated to the house of one of their number, whose wife behaved in a very unchristian manner toward himself and friends, on which James said, that as she was nothing departed from the old nature, it was evident she had not been made better by her baptism in water. Followed by many rude scholars and people, he then returned to a Friend's house, probably the one at which his companions were ; and there he

preached to the multitude. The Baptists finding that the common people and the rough mob were with them, felt their hands strengthened, and went to the shire-house, in the castle yard, and sent for James Parnell, who quickly came to them. The gaoler at first would have refused James Parnell permission to enter, but he at last obtained it. The multitude now became quiet, and Edward and Francis soon joined their friend. The Baptists and the Independents, each chose one to represent them, and the dispute opened.

The Baptists put but one question, which was this, "The writings of the Prophets and Apostles, which are called Scriptures, whether are they the word and sayings of the Most High God? yea or nay?" To this James replied, "The word of God, which is God, which dwelt in the Prophets and Apostles, from it they spoke forth the things which are recorded in Scripture." The Baptists declared this was no answer, and finding nothing how they could take hold of it, they after a time departed, enjoining the gaoler not to allow James to speak to the multitude. James was hustled and abused by the rude scholars, although the Baptists had been allowed to go away unmolested. On this he remarks, "It appears that the world loves its own."

Edward and Francis returned to the house of a Friend, and sending for their brethren in religious profession and some others, they had a meeting with them in the evening. On Seventh-day the 21st, they had two meetings in the yard of a house in the place, at which many were convinced of the truth, even some of those who had been wild and turbulent. The next day they were at a meeting previously appointed in the Isle of Ely. It was large, there being as was supposed, seven hundred persons

present. The father of Cromwell's son-in-law Russel, a colonel in the army, who resided near, sent two priests to the meeting, probably to dispute with them. But so clearly did the two Friends set forth the spirituality of the Gospel and unfold the way of life, that the priests were confounded, and had nothing to say. Their hearts were touched, and on returning to Russel they told him the Quakers were far before them. On this the colonel invited Edward and Francis to his house, where they went, and had a kind reception. When the family gathered about them, they were afresh qualified to preach to them, in the demonstration of the spirit and with power. Some of those present were seriously affected, and the colonel's wife wept freely.

The next day the colonel sent them word, if they would go to the house of one of the priests, whom he had sent to dispute with them, who was an Independent, he would send the priest word, and acquaint his congregation. This message they received with gladness, and had a satisfactory meeting, at which were the colonel's family, the public preachers of the parish, and many of the people. The Lord whom they served was near them by the word of his grace, and qualified them to speak the truth, with boldness and convincing power. The priests hung their heads in confusion, but the hearts of the people, being in measure opened by the Lord's good spirit, greeted the Friends in love.

Early in the Third Month, we find them once more in London, laboring with their elder brother George Fox. On Third-day, the 8th of Third Month, Edward and Francis had a dispute with "the chief of the Baptists" in London, and the next day with "two of the chief of the Water Baptists." Of these meetings, Alexander Par-

ker writes, "Many of their hearers who are not satisfied, came, and some of our Friends, and the power of the Lord was over them; though they are a very wise and subtle generation, yet the Lord by his wisdom in weak ones, confounds and overturns them. A great shatter is among all the forms and gathered churches as they are called; and many are inquiring after the truth."

As Edward and Francis were returning from their tour, they addressed from Cambridge a letter to James Parnell, which it would seem recommended him to remember the awakened ones in the Isle of Ely. To this letter he replied under date of Third Month 18th, acknowledging the love which dictated it and the evidence it bore of care and wisdom. Soon after receiving it, he went to the Isle of Ely, and had various meetings. At Ely-town many were convinced. Of Littleport in the Isle, he says, "there are about sixty that are brought to meet together, in that town alone." At Soham, he also had an open opportunity of proclaiming the truth to the people, who received the word gladly, and many were convinced.

On the 21st of Third Month, Francis Howgill writing to Margaret Fell, says: "Pray for us, for our work is doubled; our care is doubled; but our strength is also renewed. The work is great in this city, but even few are fitted for it. The last First-day (20th), there were ten meetings in the city, and the work lieth upon George Fox and us two. Here are a precious people; [they] grow up in wisdom and life, and many are added. All the priests and all the gathered congregations in the city preach against us, and are bent in great rage, and print lies, and incense people much. Edward Burrough and I have ordinarily two public disputes with the heads of them. They lose their members so fast, they know not what to

do; yet the city is pretty calm and quiet; and wisdom begins to grow among Friends, and divers are moved to go forth in the ministry. Two young men and two young women are moved to go to Barbadoes, out of the city." "Here are many Friends come up about tithes. There are nearly thirty in the city, and much care lieth upon us to order them, and for the brethren abroad that are in the work of the Lord, or in bonds." "Our liberty here is of much advantage to all of the churches of Christ everywhere, glory be to Him that preserveth us in his bosom, and under the shadow of his wing."

On the 29th of Third Month, these two gospel laborers left London, visiting Friends and holding meetings in various parts of Norfolk and Suffolk. But little account of this journey has been preserved.

Oliver Cromwell, now Protector of England, was conscious that the standing he had assumed could only be maintained by skill and energy. The Presbyterians were dissatisfied with him, as well as the Episcopalians and Roman Catholics; and the Independents themselves were not hearty in his support. They were zealously attached to a republican form of government, and Oliver gave evidence of an intent to assume monarchical powers, even if prudence should deter him from taking on himself a kingly title. In this situation he displayed his wonted vigor of mind. It would be foreign to this work, to trace the manner in which he quelled insurrection, and secured and increased his power. But one of his acts, intended to support his usurpations, occasioned much suffering to the Society of Friends. With the sanction of his council, he issued a proclamation, directing that an oath, abjuring "Popish supremacy," should be required of the people of England. Whilst George Fox, Edward Burrough, Francis

Howgill and other concerned Friends were in London, during the early part of the Third Month, [this year], they prepared "a declaration against popery." This was intended to show that though they could take no oaths to evidence their feelings, they were yet opposed to all popery, popish rites and observances, whether found in the church of Rome, or in those called reformed churches.

This declaration commences with showing that the people of God, in scorn called Quakers, could not swear, because they observed the doctrine of Christ Jesus and his apostles, who said, "swear not at all, neither by heaven, neither by the earth, neither by any other oath; but let your yea be yea, and your nay nay, lest ye fall into condemnation." It then stated that they denied and condemned all popish ways and supremacy over the Catholic church, and in confirmation of this condemnation alluded to the many Friends who had suffered in England, under laws made to protect the Jesuits, crucifixes and images, which laws the priests of nominally reformed churches, now kept as their guard. They bear a decided testimony against that power in England, which would force men's consciences either to take oaths, or to conform to their outward established ordinances. "Bread and wine," say they, "are carnal; which our Lord Jesus Christ's body is not, but is precious. He saw no corruption, and is a mystery, which bread and wine are not, let them consecrate them ever so." "We deny the sacrament, for we know there is no Scripture for it. The Lord's supper is not carnal. He will make his abode with us and sup with us. His body is glorious, and not beggarly elements, as outward bread and wine. This is the blood of Jesus, which washeth away our sins; and this is the body of Jesus, which makes us free from the law. So

we do deny and condemn all that worship, that sacrament of elements of bread and wine, and that supper which stands in those things. We witness Christ to be come, who is the sum and substance, and need not have a remembrance of any element. We which be dead with Christ, live in his life, from [out of] the beggarly elements. Again, we deny that there is any purgatory, and declare against it, knowing the blood of Jesus, which cleanseth from sin, and Him who takes away our sin, and destroys the works of the devil." "We do deny all their consecrated host, crucifixes and images, and they are not to be worshipped." "We declare against the Papists, and them which say salvation is to be merited by works, for then it is not of faith in Him, who was not born by the will of man. We deny the word merit, and know that man doth not attain anything by his will." "Who are in Christ, are new creatures. To them there is no condemnation, who walk not after the flesh, but after the spirit. So every one shall have a reward according to his works, whether they be good or evil."

After warning the people of England against persecution, and giving two instances of suffering for not swearing, they sum up the declaration by saying, they deny "the Pope, and his supremacy and authority over the Catholic church in general, and over every one of themselves in particular. And do believe and know that there is not any transubstantiation in the called sacrament of the Lord's supper; or in the element of bread and wine, after consecration thereof by any person whatsoever. They and every of them, the people of God, called Quakers, do believe and know that there is not any purgatory; and that the consecrated host, crucifixes or images, ought not to be worshipped, neither that any worship is due to any of

them. They and every of them also believe and know, that salvation cannot be merited by works, and all doctrines and affirmations of the said points we do renounce and witness against. They do deny all equivocation, mental reservation, and secret evasion whatsoever; speaking the words of truth in plainness by the help of God; and in so doing are persecuted, stoned, stocked, mocked, reproached and imprisoned, by those who cannot endure plainness of speech; who are equivocators, mental reservers, and secret evaders."

Anthony Pearson, Gervase Benson and Thomas Aldam took a copy of this declaration and presented it to Oliver Cromwell, on the 28th of the Third Month. They told him that though the oath of abjuration was given forth for Baptists to take, yet many corrupt justices, knowing that Friends could not swear, would make a spoil of them by tendering it to them. Oliver replied, "It was never intended for them; I never so intended it." He was very moderate in his demeanor towards the Friends, and promised to read the papers they brought.

CHAPTER V.

ON the 10th of the Fourth Month 1655, Edward Burrough felt an impression on his mind, that it would be right for him to pay a religious visit to the inhabitants of Ireland. By a memorandum he made on the occasion, it appears he received a promise that his life should be preserved, although he was required to give up that and all things else, to the keeping of Him who was calling him to this field of labor.

On the 30th day of the month, he submitted himself to the will of his Divine Master in this matter, and at that time he knew not that his friend Francis Howgill was under a like concern. It was, however, in the ordering of the Lord, that these two Friends should perform at least part of this service together. He had caused a similar concern to take hold of the mind of Francis Howgill, to whom He gave an inward assurance that Edward Burrough should accompany him. The prospect thus clearly opened to both was soon afterwards entered on. Francis Howgill came to London in the Fourth Month, where he probably found Edward Burrough. A great change had taken place in the condition of Friends throughout England. Persecution had arisen almost everywhere, and most of the active ministers were now in bonds. To use the language of F. Howgill, "our army is most scattered and broken, and cast into prison. I know none almost at liberty but George [Fox] and Alexander [Parker], Edward, I and Gervase; except John Stubbs and William Caton, John Wilkinson and John Story, and it is like they cannot be long out; yet truly the power of the Lord is over all. The work of the Lord is great, and goes on fast, notwithstanding all the rage of the heathen." "Edward Burrough has gone to Edmondsbury. I shall take care for the supply of Friends in these parts, while I am here; and truly I fear lest the burden should be heavy upon the north, for the charge is great, and our camp great." Having received a packet of letters to deliver, from Margaret Fell, he writes to her, "those to Oliver Cromwell are both delivered into his hand, but he is full of subtilty and deceit; will speak fair, but he hardens his heart, and acts secretly underneath."

The two travellers intending for Ireland, took Swarth-

more in their way, that they might be refreshed with Margaret Fell's company. From thence they went to Warrington, where on the 8th of Fifth Month, they had "an exceeding great meeting." Going to Chester they visited the prisons and stayed one night in the town. They sailed the next day, but had a tedious passage of two days, the wind being at first contrary, and afterwards but light. On Fifth-day the 12th, they had a meeting at Dublin, in the house of a Captain Rich, and on the following First-day, at the residence of a Captain Alan. Many persons attended and were quiet listeners. F. Howgill says of the captains, "they are loving, but there is not much in them." Edward Burrough went several times to the house of Deputies and spoke to Fleetwood, who was moderate with him. They had pretty full meetings on First-days, but say of the inhabitants of Dublin, "they are a careless, dissolute, proud people." Beneficial effects, however, appear to have attended their labors in that place, some of their hearers being convinced of the truth.

Soon after arriving in Dublin, Edward addressed the following epistle to Friends in London, viz:


A GENERAL EPISTLE TO FRIENDS IN LONDON.

"My dear beloved friends and brethren, in the everlasting unerring Truth, of which you are made partakers, who are called of God to be witnesses of his name, and of his Truth; with my dear love I do salute you, dearly and tenderly, and all the rest of the begotten of God, in that city, whom my soul longeth after, [even for] your growth in the inward man. The everlasting Father strengthen you, and refresh you with the living streams from his presence; and his love and power and grace be

multiplied among you, unto whom He hath opened a door, and made an entrance into the true rest, which remaineth for you, unto which the Lord of glory is gathering you, and leading you, and carrying you as lambs in his arms, into the fold of everlasting refreshing.

My dear hearts, walk worthy of the love of God, where-with He hath loved you, and let your lights show forth into the world, that your good works they may see, who watch over you with an evil eye. Dear Friends, to you that believe, He who is the light of the world, is precious. Therefore in the light wait, that your understandings may be opened and your feet prepared to walk in the ways of the Lord, which to all the children of light are pleasant ways. Be not entangled with any yoke of bondage, which may burden you from running the race that is set before you; but in the death of all [that is] mortal stand, and there the life of immortality you will see and witness, and the daily food you will receive, to that life which the love of the world doth crucify.

Do you not know that the friendship of this world is at enmity against God; but you are called not to serve the world, but God, who is the light, and the world must serve you; so take heed lest your affections, and desires, and hearts be drawn aside from the pure way of life into that which is visible, which will not endure forever; for that life is death, and that glory is shame. In the light I read you, and do behold many pleasant plants springing up in the garden of God; and I bear you record, some of you have laid your crowns down at the Lamb's feet, and have scorned the glory of Babylon and Egypt; surely your reward will be everlasting, and your cups will the Lord fill in the sight of your enemies, and your glory shall be above the glory of the earth, and your crowns shall never wither.



Therefore press on, and look not back, spare not the fat, nor the best from slaughter, but to the sword bring all your enemies, which have been they of your own house, which have prevailed over you; but now the Lord is arising among you, and you have seen the shaking of the earth, and the heavens, and of the darkness of the sun, and of the falling of the stars; therefore wait to the end, that the crown of immortality you may wear. The day begins to dawn among you, therefore put off every work of the night, and walk all in the day; for ye are the light of the world, and a city set upon a hill, which cannot be hid. The Lord prosper you, and preserve you, and be with your spirits, and establish you. Amen.

EDWARD BURROUGH."

Dublin, the 14th of the Fifth Month, 1655.

After they had been about three weeks in Dublin, Francis Howgill felt a concern to travel to the southwest, believing there was religious service for him in that part of Ireland. He writes, "But now, my beloved yoke fellow and I must part, who have borne the yoke so long together—the cross is great, in so strange and barbarous a nation; yet it is not so great, as if any other had parted us:—in the will of God we are. I am moved to go a hundred miles west in the nation towards Cork; there is a service and a people to be gathered that way; and at Kinsale, and Bandon-bridge, at the end of the land. Edward Burrough must stay here, for this city we cannot leave yet; but I am given up to lay down all for Him, who hath made me a conqueror; glory unto Him for ever more."

In the latter part of the Sixth Month, or the 1st of the Seventh Month, Francis departed from Dublin, being ac-

accompanied by Edward Cook, a cornet in the Protector's own troop. Edward was an inhabitant of Bandon, but had been convinced at Dublin, under the ministry of these two Friends, and now he was willing to do what he could towards furthering their Gospel labors. Perhaps in going with Francis to the south, he might have had a view of drawing him to his own house at Bandon, in hopes that his beloved wife might also be led thereby to a knowledge of what he now considered the Truth. Whatever his views were, it pleased the Lord, his Saviour, to grant that his wife also might have her spiritual eyes anointed to see things as he saw them. Both of them were afterwards faithful sufferers for the Truth.

Edward Burrough remained in Dublin, and soon after his companion left him, he thus wrote to Margaret Fell: "With heaviness of spirit, I write unto thee, yea, and with my eyes full of tears; for I am separated outwardly from my dear beloved brother Francis Howgill, who was my right-hand man in the war, before whom many Philistines have fallen. And truly when I consider what the Lord hath done by us, my heart is rent and broken. Many glorious days we enjoyed, and many pleasant hours we had together, in dividing the spoil of our enemies; for our hand was always strong in battle, and our ensign was lifted up above our enemies, and even thousands have fallen on our right hand, and on our left. But according to the will of God, we are now separated; he into the west of this nation one hundred or six score miles from Dublin, where I must stay a season, for ought I see, and truly under great suffering, for few are here that hunger after God, and blindness and deafness have possessed all. Little Elizabeth Fletcher* is at present here, but I know not

* Elizabeth Smith afterwards arrived in Dublin, and joining com-

how long she stays; her dear love is to thee, and to all the flock of God. Truly I suffer for her, she being as it were alone, having no other woman with her in this ravenous nation, where it is very bad travelling every way a-foot, and also dangerous; but we are much above all that. If it were the will of the Lord, that any woman were moved to come over to her, it might be serviceable.

"I was glad that Francis Howgill had so good an opportunity of passing on his journey; he went with a cornet and some others, who were very loving to us, and came to meetings while they stayed in the city."

"Let thy prayers be to the everlasting Father for us, that his dread may go along with us, over all." "As thou canst, at opportunity, write to us, it will make me glad; the face of one Friend would rejoice my soul." In a post-script, he adds, "Here is a Friend come from England since I wrote this, from Oxford, who saith he was moved to come, and I believe it. I am refreshed by him." This Friend from Oxford was without doubt Thomas Loe.

Edward Burrough was diligently employed in Dublin, in waiting on his ministry, and writing to his friends and others.

It was, perhaps, toward the Tenth Month before he felt released from that city. He appears first to have gone to the north, and then to the south and west, passing through Dublin, and spending two weeks there on his way down. At Kilkenny he spent sixteen days, laboring amongst the inhabitants generally, and being twice amongst the Baptists. He says, "a few in that city received our report." Passing on to Waterford, he writes at that place, "Our

pany with Elizabeth Fletcher, they then went out into various parts of the country, laboring successfully as they found ability, even amid much oppression and abuse.

service lies only in great towns and cities; for generally the country is without inhabitants, except bands of murderers and thieves and robbers, which wait for their prey and devour many; from which yet we are preserved. I had great opposition in this city; five times opposed by the rulers who are Baptists, and once was I tried for a vagabond, and once examined by them for a Jesuit; but to this day, out of snares and plots am I preserved, and walk as a bird among fowlers' snares, and as an innocent dove which hath no mate; nay, none unto whom I can open my cause, but the Lord my God only."

On the 5th of the Eleventh Month, writing from Waterford to Margaret Fell, he says, "Sister beloved, whom I forget not, but do remember with kindness, and of whom I am not forgotten." "We are joint heirs of the incorruptible inheritance of the Son, who in us liveth and worketh of his own will; in whom we are what we are, and by whom we do what is done; to Him we give his own, glorifying Him with his own, world without end. Though far distant from one another, yet my love is hereby increased unto all the children of light; with tears rejoicing in the unity of the Spirit with you all, who am to you a brother and companion in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ, and in labors and sufferings more abundant; but as in suffering with Christ I do abound, so my joy by Him and consolation in Him are increased also." "I have not long heard from my chiefest companion F. H., whose love in the same measure salutes thee with mine. It is now four months since we parted at Dublin, and what I have said in respect of suffering and trials, he can seal the same with me; who have been companions in tribulation and in patience, and are now in joy and rejoicing; hoping to receive the end of our labor, and to see the

travail of our souls, that we may bring in the [sheep] with us into the fold, and may return to our camp with victory from our Lord. We have not spared to wound on the right hand and on the left; and victory, victory, hath been our word of watch. Though this nation be as a heath in the desert, yet there is a seed and a remnant, for whose sake we are sent. Seldom have I heard from him since [we parted at Dublin]. He is about Cork and Kinsale and Bandon, sixty or eighty miles from this place; and he hath written for me to come that way; if I had freedom, for there was service. But yet I have not had freedom to leave these parts, for here is a harvest and but few laborers; and a war is begun in this nation, and but very few on our part to manage it.

“Our dear sisters Elizabeth Fletcher and Elizabeth Smith are also in the west, valiant for the Truth; and some from London arrived at Dublin, who are going into the north of this nation. Of all our work and labor, which is doubled upon us since we parted, have we a reward into our bosoms; and herein will our joy be more enlarged, to hear how the war prospers in that nation. Write and let us know, that we may partake with you in your rejoicing; and assuredly you may praise the living God on our behalf. Here is a great want of books in this nation, which might be very serviceable in spreading forth the Truth.”

In the Tenth Month of this year, a company of priests in the south of Ireland, finding that many of their flocks were leaving them, went to Dublin to obtain some remedy from Henry Cromwell and his council. At their suggestion a warrant was issued, ordering the magistrates to send “all that are called Quakers” to Dublin. A copy was sent to the governor of Kinsale, and another to Colonel

Phayre, governor of Cork, and it would appear other magistrates besides were furnished with them. Phayre was convinced that Friends were true Christians, and he declared that more good had been done by those who were then there, than "all the priests in the country had done for a hundred years." He had no mind to meddle in persecuting them, and supposing that he would be able to protect them against other magistrates, he sent a letter privately to Francis Howgill, who was at Kinsale, desiring him to come to Cork. The magistrates to whom the warrants were addressed were not desirous of acting, and one called Major Stoding was turned out of his commission for refusing to obey it. Many Friends were now imprisoned in Dublin, and a spirit of persecution seemed spreading through the land. Yet at Cork and Kinsale the men in authority continued generally favorable to Friends, and many officers of the army attended their meetings.

In the Eleventh Month Edward Burrough went to Cork, where he and Francis Howgill once more joined company. From Cork they went to Limerick, accompanied by James Sicklemore and Edward Cook. They reached that place on a Seventh-day of the week. The next day they were not permitted to speak in the public places of worship, and on Second-day they were expelled the place. As they rode along on horseback Edward Burrough preached to the people, and after they were outside of the gates, he had an opportunity of addressing a great multitude. His three companions each spoke a few words, directing the hearers "to Christ Jesus, a measure of whose light was given to every one to profit withal," and a number of persons were convinced that day.

They also visited Kinsale, where among other fruits of their labor, Susanna Worth, wife of the priest Edward

Worth, who was afterward Bishop of that place was convinced. For her obedience to her conscientious convictions she suffered much at the hands of her husband, but remained a faithful Friend until her death.

Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill returned to Cork in the Twelfth Month, where they were arrested by the high sheriff of the county, under a special order from Henry Cromwell and his council. They were taken by armed men from garrison to garrison, until they reached Dublin, having had many opportunities by the way, of preaching Christ to the soldiery and others. In Dublin they were committed to the care of Mortimer, the sergeant-at-arms, in whose house they had a large chamber allowed them, where none of their friends were hindered from visiting them.

They arrived at Dublin about the 20th of the Twelfth Month, and being brought before Henry Cromwell and his council, they were examined, but no charges of any kind were brought against them. They answered with freedom the questions put to them, and Edward Burrough says, "Mighty was the power of the Lord with us, to the confounding of our enemies." Although no cause of imprisonment could be proved against them, they were kept in close confinement until forcibly banished from the island. Whilst in confinement, Edward wrote various addresses, one of which entitled, "The unjust sufferings of the just declared, and their appeal to the just witnesses of God in all men's consciences," is here introduced, which is as follows:

"To all ye colonels and commanders and officers, and to all the honest hearted in the city of Dublin and elsewhere, to whom this may come.

"Hereby, we the prisoners of the Lord for the testi-

mony of Jesus and for the exercise of a pure conscience, do lay down our cause before you ; and to the light of Jesus Christ, in all your consciences, we appeal in this our cause of righteousness and innocency, to be judged thereby. We are men fearing God, and working righteousness, and are friends to the commonwealth of Israel, and are exalters of justice and true judgment in the earth, and are subject to all just power, and every just ordinance of man for conscience sake. We have suffered the loss of all, and have borne part of the burden with you, that we might obtain the freedom of the righteous seed, and the liberty of tender consciences, to serve the Lord in his own way.

We are well known to the Lord, though strangers to you, and are free men in the record of heaven, though now sufferers unjustly under your present authority, who have taken the place of exercising lordship, over our pure consciences, and have imprisoned us and endeavored to give judgment of banishing us, only upon false accusations, and information and slander, without the proof or testimony of any accusation of evil, justly laid to our charge. And to you hereby be it known, that not for evil doing, do we thus suffer ; for to this present, no man hath convinced us of any evil, nor justly proved the transgression of any law, martial or civil, against us, though we stand accused of many grievous things, of which we are clearly innocent in the sight of Him that lives forever, and do nothing more desire herein, but to be tried by the law of equity and righteousness, and judged according thereunto.

By virtue of command given unto us by the eternal spirit of the Lord, came we into this land of Ireland, contrary to the will of man ; not to seek ourselves, nor our

own glory, nor to prejudice your nation or government, nor to be hurtful to your commonwealth, but with the message of the gospel of Christ Jesus, we came to turn [people] from darkness to light, and from the power of satan to the power of God, and to minister the word of reconciliation and salvation freely, without gift or reward unto lost souls. Hereof God is our witness, and also we have the seals of our ministry, which unto us herein can give testimony by the same spirit, and this are we ready to seal with our blood. These six months and upwards have we labored in travels and sufferings, and reproaches, and have passed through your cities and towns in soberness; and in meekness have we preached the kingdom of God, and have holden forth the word of truth, and the testimony of Jesus; and our lives have we not loved till this day, though sometimes dangers on every side have beset us, that we might hold forth the faith of Jesus the author of our profession, in the exercise of a pure conscience, both by doctrine and conversation. Herein are we justified in the sight of God, and who is he that condemns us? We call heaven and earth to record, and the light in all men's consciences, who have heard our doctrine and seen our conversation, to witness for us herein. We challenge all your nation of Ireland, our very enemies, to prove the contrary, though otherwise we stand falsely accused, and falsely reputed to be disturbers and makers of disorders, to the breach of public peace, and such like grievous things.

Upon the false information hereof, a warrant was issued out from the chief ruler and council of Ireland, and we thereby were apprehended in the city of Cork, and haled by guards as malefactors, before the council in this city, where none of all these false accusations were, or could be

proved against us, nor of the transgression of any known law could we be convicted. Though occasions were sought against us, yet none could be found ; and though snares were laid for our feet, yet were we not entrapped ; but were cleared in the sight of God, witnessed by the light in all their consciences ; and were found innocent, and without reproof in the eye of the Lord. And by our innocency, were their orders of false accusation made of none effect ; and we thus far proved to be guiltless before the throne of true judgment. Yet notwithstanding, contrary to the light in their own consciences, and contrary to the just laws of the nation, which afford freedom to the free born and righteous, were we committed to prison without conviction, or any guilt charged upon us, or the least appearance of evil towards any man's person. Though falsely accused, yet no true testimony [was] given against us, whereby our boldness in the way of the Lord could be discouraged, as having the testimony of the spirit of God, bearing us witness in the Holy Ghost, that in all good conscience towards God and towards man, we have lived to this day ; also are we without reproof in the sight of God and all just men. Though upon search and examination, we are found guiltless thus far, yet farther hath the enemy, the devil, prevailed in cruelty against the innocent, that it is endeavored that we be banished under the account of vagabonds. This last accusation is most false and unrighteous ; for we challenge this : of whom have we begged ? or to whom have we been burdensome ? or whose bread have we eaten for nothing ? or what evil have we done ? where is the testimony of your slanders ? But innocently do we suffer these things, bearing reproaches, and binding the cruelty done unto us as chains about our necks, and as crowns upon our heads ; having the assur-

ance, that for well doing we suffer these things from the hands of the rulers, through the lies and slanders of the teachers, who are in Cain's way of persecution, till they have fulfilled their measure of wickedness, and be laid waste as the wilderness.

This is our cause, and hereby it comes before you, by the light of Christ in your consciences to be judged, if your hearts be not altogether hardened, and your minds wholly blinded; and we lay it at your door to receive sentence from you, and without respect of persons hold forth our guiltless cause before you, not begging anything from you but herein to clear our consciences, that you may save yourselves from this untoward generation, whose root is corrupt, and fruit bitterness. While we have breath from the Lord, we shall bear witness against injustice, and all cruelty and oppression, and shall appeal to receive justice from the present power that now rules. In the name of the Lord we challenge our privilege of freedom, as being free born, till we be accused guilty by the just law of equity, unto which we are subject for conscience sake, and not to any man's will. By word and writing are we bound by the law of God, to bear witness against the unjust proceedings herein of the heads and rulers of Dublin, and shall seal our witness against them, and against their unrighteous decrees, sealed in their cruelty against the innocent, with our blood if thereunto we be called.

EDWARD BURROUGH."

Dublin, the 26th of the Twelfth Month 1655.

On the 23rd, Edward Burrough sent a general challenge to all the priests in Dublin and its neighborhood, at whose instigation he understood he and his companion were confined, to give them a public meeting in order to

debate the doctrines of either, that so the honest inquirers after truth might be satisfied, who were right, and who were wrong. Of this paper no notice was taken, but the council after a few days, issued an order to the mayor of the city, that he should send Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill, with all speed to England. About the last of the year, they were by force placed on board a vessel bound for Chester, at which they arrived the 2nd of First Month, 1656.

During the course of this year, Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill addressed several epistles to their brethren in London, and other parts of England, evincing much lively concern for their spiritual welfare and preservation in the unchangeable Truth. The excellent counsel and pertinent exhortation they contain render them well worthy of a careful perusal.

TO BE READ AT MEETINGS OF FRIENDS IN LONDON.

“FRIENDS of God, called by Him out of the dark world into his marvellous light; to all you who by the power of God are kept faithful, to walk and abide in the measure of the gift of God received; grace, mercy and peace from God the Father of life, be multiplied in you, and amongst you, that you all may grow up in the power of God, out of darkness and the shadow of death, wherein you have been held captive in a strange land.

“Dear Friends, our souls are poured out for you, that you all may abide in that which you have received and heard, which is the way and path of life, and righteousness, and peace eternal. Therefore walk worthy of the calling, whereunto ye are called, and wait in the light by which you are enlightened, that all deceit in particular

and in the general may be seen and judged. We bear you record, there is a witness of God manifest in you, and true desires which flow to God from you; therefore take heed to the measure of God, that by it you may hear the voice of God, and see his powerful presence; for by that which is manifested of God in man, God speaks, moves, and acts, and is known unto man.

“They that neglect the measure of God, to walk in it, all their knowledge, experiences, and profession are for condemnation by that which changeth not. So all dwell in the measure which is the light, in the cross which keeps under and judges the fleshly man; so the understanding will be kept open to receive the mercies of God, and to walk worthy of the mercies received; but turning aside from the light, you neglect the mercies, and follow lying vanities, and err from the way of righteousness, and bring yourselves under condemnation. For no longer is God enjoyed by man, than while man abides in his counsel, in his fear, where the secrets of God are manifest and received by the light, which is the first entrance unto God, and the fulness of the enjoyment of God. Beware of the world, where all the temptations lie, to draw away your minds into the carnal and visible things, out from the light by which the life is enjoyed, and so death passeth over you, and condemnation cometh upon you, and the life be lost, and misery be revealed against you.

“Large is the love of God unto you, in calling you and choosing you, and therefore forget not this love, but walk in it, up to God, from whom free redemption is manifest unto that which hath lain in death, overcome by the darkness. Follow not your own wills, nor the voice of the stranger and false prophet, which draws out into visibles here, and there; but have salt and discerning in your-

selves, that you may try every motion, and every spirit, and may by that which is infallible and errs not, comprehend and judge that which is fallible and erring, which flourisheth for a time, but comes to an end and is withered. This your own knowledge and consciences will set seal to, who have been scattered upon the mountains in the cloudy and dark day; but now the light is breaking forth, and the day begins to appear; and all you who abide faithful shall see the glory of the Lord, and shall enjoy Him in the land of the living.

“We charge you all in the Lord, that you who profess the Truth walk in it; and as you profess a change, let it appear by putting off the works of darkness, which by the light are made manifest unto you, and testified against by the witness of God in you. Know this, that that which liveth in you which is contrary to God, witnessed against by the light of Christ, shall be as a prick in the eye, and as a thorn in the side forever. Wrath is to be revealed upon him that spareth the best, and saveth the fat from judgment, for to the slaughter all must come, that life and glory may be made manifest. He that looks back by the way is not fit for the kingdom; and he that returns again to the pollutions, his latter end is worse than his beginning, and the judgment of God cannot be escaped.

“Therefore wait in the power of God, and stand in the light, which is the armor against all temptations, whereby the darkness and death, and he that hath the power of death, is overcome, and all that love the light are guided by it. And all dear Friends, who have tasted of the love and power of God, and do witness the rending of the earth, dwell in the power and pure fear of the Lord, that so all deceit may be kept down and under. Take heed of the false prophet’s speaking, or suffering your minds to

run out in the openings, and so you will speak that which is opened in the light.

“We charge you all in the presence of the dreadful God of life and power, that you all wait in silence, and wait to have salt and savor in yourselves, to know the voice of Christ from the voice of the stranger, for till that be known in yourselves you are not able to judge. Therefore all wait in the light, which is the eye, which sees into the mysteries of the kingdom; and none to utter a word, but what you are divinely moved unto, or else that in every one’s conscience will bear witness against you.

“Be not hasty, when you see things open in your minds, dwell in them, and run not forth and speak, but treasure them up in your hearts, and take heed, and keep low in the fear of the Lord God, that pride and presumption get not up, nor anything be exalted above that which is pure. Dear Friends, you are upon us as a great weight and burden, lest we should have bestowed our labor in vain, but we hope and trust the Lord will preserve you, if you stand in obedience to that of God-made manifest in you, and so you will grow. Take heed of striving and contending, but judge that [spirit], every one in yourselves, that you may all grow up in the pure life of God. The everlasting power of God bless you all, and keep you in his everlasting love and power, and give the victory over your enemies, that you may come to witness eternal life made manifest in you, from God.

“Your brethren in the work of the Lord.

EDWARD BURROUGH,
FRANCIS HOWGILL.”

On landing in England, they heard of a meeting to be held at Preston, in Lancashire, and being desirous to at-

tend it, they left Chester on the 3rd of the First Month for that purpose. The meeting was probably held on the 4th, for Edward Burrough says that they "made haste, much desiring to be there, which also was brought to pass by the hand of our God." At Preston they unexpectedly met John Audland and Alexander Parker, and the meeting was held to the great advantage of Truth. Recurring to the recent field of labor which he and Francis had been engaged in, Edward writes: "Truly great service for the Lord we had in Ireland, for near seven months; the particulars would be very large; but in short, there is a precious work begun and seed sown, which shall never die." "Francis' dear wife, we hear, is departed this world, which will be a little hindrance to him at present, as to settle his children and the like; but truly he is wholly given up to do our Father's will, through great and many trials, and dangers and sufferings."

From Preston, Edward Burrough and companion proceeded to Lancaster, and from thence to visit Friends in the counties still further north. Here, it appears, they parted for a while, Francis Howgill looking after his children, whilst Edward Burrough proceeded to London. Besides his labors in the ministry in that great city, he published the Epistles written by him in Ireland, and those prepared jointly with Francis Howgill. On the 6th of the Third Month he finished and dated a work, entitled, "A description of the State and Condition of all Mankind on the face of the earth." Francis Howgill soon joined him, and they continued laboring together in Gospel unity. A letter from Francis Howgill to Margaret Fell, which was probably written early in the Fourth Month of this year, says: "In this city Truth hath dominion over all; none will stand now to dispute, but they

turn away. We have about twenty meetings in a week ; and ten or twenty miles about [there are] great desires ; and if we can we go out, but we cannot stay ; great is our care." "Edward Burrough salutes thee ; he is almost spent : few know our condition."


From London they went to Bristol, and had a great meeting there on a First-day (Fifth Month 27th), at which about five thousand persons attended. Soon after, Edward returned to London, and it was not long before he was joined by his faithful companion, and for many months they had sore trials and conflicts, in contending with some who had gone out from the Truth, and others who had never attained it. The ranters, a body of people acknowledged by no religious society, were a disturbance to all. Particularly were they so to Friends, whose places of worship were not in anywise protected by the civil authorities. These ranters would come into the meetings, screaming or singing with loud voices, interrupting the ministers in their solemn services, and at times using very indecent language and actions.

William Caton, who came to London about the 1st of the Seventh Month of this year, writes of the exercises they had in the city, from some who had left the Truth and gone into extremes, but adds that the faithful had comfort in one another. Although Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill had much suffering to endure in London, they yet felt sympathy for their brethren under suffering in other places. On the 19th of the Seventh Month they addressed a joint letter to Thomas Aldam and others in Yorkshire, on whom much abuse had been bestowed for their faithfulness. Francis Howgill held the pen. This communication bears witness to the unity and fellowship subsisting amongst them. They say :

“Dear brethren, we are with you in your bonds, in your reproaches and imprisonments, and in your rejoicings; your joy is ours, for we eat with you and drink with you at our Father’s table, where there is plenteous nourishment for all those who wait in his counsel, and are obedient to his commands.” In respect to things in London they say: “Dear brethren, our care is great; the harvest is great; who are sufficient for these things? Here are fields white unto harvest, and much of the power of God hath been with us. Great hath been our burden and our work since we came here, and our reward is great. Much have we been drawn out to administer in power and wisdom. We have exceeding great meetings of all sorts, and we labor and travail until Christ be formed in them. Pray for us that we may be kept in his power, [which] reigneth over all; by the power of the Lord the mouths of lions are stopped, kings are bound in chains; eternal living praises for evermore to Him who rides on conquering in power and great glory! Many are brought under great judgment and true power, and many have learned their own condemnation.

“The last First-day, (Seventh Month 14th), my dear yoke-fellow and I went in the forenoon to two of the highest notionists and the greatest deceivers in the city, at two steeple-houses, where the wise of the city come; and I had great liberty, and spoke toward an hour; all were silent, and some confessed they never heard so much truth in power delivered. Many would have had me to their houses; but we lay hands on none hastily.”

James Lancaster and Miles Halhead were at this time in London, but tarried not long there. The parliament had met on the 17th, but it was no longer a meeting of the free and independent representatives of the nation. Those



only of its members who were approved by Cromwell and his council were permitted to enter the House, or to sit therein. This high handed measure of arbitrary power occasioned great excitement throughout the community, particularly amongst those who were attached to republican principles. In this public agitation Friends took no part. In reference to it Francis Howgill says: "As for these things, they are nothing to us, we are redeemed from them. Praises to the Lord for evermore, who hath made us to reign above the world, and to trample upon it."

In a narrative relating to the rise of the Society, prepared by William Crouch, who died in 1710 aged eighty years, he thus speaks of events occurring about this time in and near London.

"Being now come to time, in some degree within my own knowledge and remembrance, to wit, the year 1656, when I find the two aforementioned Friends, to wit, Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough returned from Ireland, and frequenting the meetings in and about the city of London, where their service was very great. They were the apostles of this city in their day, by whom many were gathered, both sons and daughters, and were settled through the grace of God in the faith of the Gospel, by the effectual working of the word of Life through their ministry, and of others, the servants of the Lord, as aforesaid. And the Lord opened the mouths of some of the inhabitants of this city, to bear witness to the Truth now made known. The first of which that had a public testimony to bear, was Ann Downer, aforesaid, who was followed by Richard Greenway, John Giles, Sarah Blackberry, Ann Gold, Rebecca Travers, Richard Davies, William Baily, Mary Booth, and some others.

“Those meetings which I found and frequented at my first convincement were at the Bull and Mouth, at Sarah Yates’ in Aldersgate Street, at Humphrey Bache’s, a goldsmith in Tower Street, held on the First and the Sixth-days of the week, both in the afternoon; and at the house of Girard Roberts, in a street called Thomas Apostles, where sometimes resorted travelling Friends, who came out of the country on the service of Truth, and there was also a meeting on the First-day of the week, in the afternoon; and for some time at the house of Samuel Vaus, in Basinghall Street, was a meeting on First-day, in the after part of the day, and at the house of William Woodcock in the Savoy, was a meeting on the First-day, and on the Fifth-day of the week, at which place meetings are continued unto this day. About this time, also, a meeting was set up at Horsleydown, in the house of a widow there; and the number of Friends increasing, a piece of ground was procured to build a meeting-house upon, and accordingly a meeting-house was built, and since enlarged, and is the same which continues there. There was also a meeting at Stepney, at the house of one called Captain Brock, which continued there until about the year 1665, or ’66, in the stead of which a meeting was settled at Ratcliff, and a meeting-house there built, and since enlarged, as it is at this day.

“We had also meetings on the First-day of the week at Worcester House in the Strand, where one Nicholas Bond had lodgings, who had some place at or did belong to the court; he afterwards taking lodgings at the great house at Greenwich, called the Palace; we had meetings there for some time. We had also some meetings at the house of Gobert Sikes, in Hackney; and for some time we had meetings in the Pall Mall near James’, at the

house of Elizabeth Trott, a widow ; we had meetings also in the Palace yard, Westminster, at the house of Stephen Hart, both which last mentioned were discontinued, and an house was taken at Westminster for a meeting place, and so continues to this day.

“ In this year, 1656, or near that time, a meeting was set up in John’s Street, called the Peel Meeting, which still continues there, and the meeting in Westbury Street, bearing the name of Wheeler Street Meeting, which first began in the house of John Oakly, in an upper room, and being increased in number, another room was added ; but the meeting still increasing, and both rooms being too strait, the meeting was sometimes without doors, and afterwards a tent covered with canvas, or sail cloth, was set up in the garden, where the meeting was kept for some small time, till a meeting-house was there erected, which hath been since enlarged for the conveniency of the meeting.

“ About this time also, meetings were set up at Hammersmith, Hendon, Kingston, Wansworth, Barking, Ham, since at Plaistow, and at Waltham Abbey.

“ During which time and season, the Lord in a plentiful manner did shower down his blessings and favors upon his heritage, in and about the city of London, and places adjacent, by sending many of his messengers and servants to visit them, to water and refresh his plantation, that they may grow and flourish, and bring forth fruit to his praise, viz: George Whitehead, William Dewsberry, Stephen Crisp, John Crook, Josiah Coal, Samuel Fisher, John Whitehead, Richard Farnsworth, George Fox the younger, and many others whom he fitted and prepared for his work and service in their day. These published deliverance by and through repentance to poor captive souls enslaved in

sin, through the lusts of the flesh reigning in their mortal bodies, through the temptations of satan."

In reference to Edward Burrough, who was a father in spiritual matters to William Crouch, the latter says, "I loved and honored him in the Lord, and for the Truth's sake; I had many times an opportunity of conversing with him, and wrote several things from him, as he dictated them, which were since printed in the collection of his works."

"He was a man, though but young, of undaunted courage, the Lord set him above the fear of his enemies, and I have beheld him filled with power by the spirit of the Lord; for instance, at the Bull and Mouth, when the room, which was very large, hath been filled with people, many of whom have been in uproars, contending one with another, some exclaiming against the Quakers, accusing and charging them with heresy, blasphemy, sedition, and what not; that they were deceivers, and deluded the people; that they denied the Holy Scriptures and the resurrection. Others endeavoring to vindicate them, and speaking of them more favorably. In the midst of all which noise and contention, this servant of the Lord hath stood upon a bench, with his Bible in his hand, for he generally carried one about with him, speaking to the people with great authority from the words of John vii. 12. And there was much murmuring among the people concerning Him, to wit, Jesus, for some said He is a good man, others said nay, but He deceiveth the people. And so suitable to the present debate amongst them, that the whole multitude were overcome thereby, and became exceeding calm and attentive, and departed peaceably, and with seeming satisfaction."

CHAPTER VI.

EARLY in the year of 1656, Edward Burrough was arrested at Kingston in Surry, and taken with nine of his friends, before the magistrates of that place. Under what pretence they were arrested the account left of the transaction does not show, but the magistrates tendered them the oath of abjuration, and because they refused to take it committed them to prison. The persecutors knew that Friends conscientiously believed it to be unlawful for a Christian to swear, and the plan they frequently adopted of offering them the oath, was therefore an easy and sure means of furnishing a legal reason for casting them into prison. Edward was not very long in confinement. He appears this year whilst in prison, and out of prison, to have been diligently employed with his pen in defence of the doctrines and testimonies of Truth.

Many of the clergy of the different denominations, were engaged in writing and printing against Friends; some of them out of fondness for religious disputation; some because they deemed their craft in danger, and others no doubt prompted by the persuasion that Quakerism was adverse to Christianity. Being in great measure outward in their views, and regarding religion as a system of forms and ceremonies, rather than the dedication of the heart to the Lord, and submission to the cleansing operations of his Holy Spirit, they could not understand the spiritual doctrines so earnestly advocated by our early Friends. They had no desire to find those to be true Christians, who denied the lawfulness of compelling any to pay for preaching, and who considered the receiving

hire for such service as contrary to the commands of the Head of the church—the giver of all spiritual gifts, and the alone paymaster of his ministers.

Friends' steadfastness in refusing to uncover the head in token of honor to men, which mark of worship they believed due only to God, their Creator, was construed into a disregard of authority, and a perverse infraction of the proper courtesies of life. Their plea for the immediate counsel and direction of the "Holy Spirit," the "light of Christ," the "light within," was believed by some, and declared by many, to be from a disbelief in the Scriptures of truth, notwithstanding their constant denial of such an unjust inference, and their offers in all controversies with their adversaries, that their faith and practice should be tested by Scripture authority, and that all which could not be thus sustained should be reckoned and accounted a delusion of the devil. Some deemed them socinians, because they did not so frequently hold forth in their ministry and writings, the benefits derived from the outward offering of our Lord Jesus Christ, as their opponents deemed needful. In reply to this charge, Friends said they were no socinians, that they steadfastly believed in the divinity, offices, birth, labors of love, propitiatory sufferings and death of the blessed Saviour Jesus Christ; and if they did not treat so much on these subjects, as some others did, it was because they were almost universally preached, and professed in Christendom, while the gift of the Holy Spirit, purchased for us by the death of Christ, and universally bestowed upon all mankind as their rule and guide, was scarcely upheld or preached by **any**; and therefore there was more need to direct the minds of the people, to this Divine and saving light in themselves, that through obedience to its discoveries, they

might be led out of sin, and brought into holiness of life and conversation.

Amongst those who took up the pen against the Quakers, was John Bunyan, who misunderstanding or misrepresenting his antagonists, zealously beat the air in his attack on a fancied unsoundness. Edward Burrough was not slow in replying to him, and having a better opportunity of knowing the truth, he was able to refute Bunyan's unfounded accusations.

On the 23rd of Seventh Month 1656, the Parliament published a proclamation, calling upon the inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland to observe a day of fasting and humiliation, and seeking the face of God, through the mediation of Christ.

When Edward Burrough read this proclamation, he was led to consider the oppressive acts of the government towards tender consciences, and the iniquities which abounded among the people. The recollection of these stirred him up to take his pen in hand, and through the medium of the press, spread amongst the people his thoughts on the subject. He enumerates various causes of the Divine judgment coming upon them, and then adds: "many more abominations cry for vengeance against some of you, who have had your hands deeply dipped in such oppression; and therefore this is a warning to you to break off these sins by righteousness and true repentance, lest your fasts prove only for strife, and to smite with the fist of wickedness. Clear yourselves and wash your hands from these abominations, lest the fruit of them be given to you to eat for food. Let this, O ye rulers! be acceptable counsel unto you, that the day of happiness may appear, and the long expected day of liberty may yet dawn

through this dark night of bondage, which overshadows your heads that you cannot behold the glory of the sun. And herein shall you be established, and we shall have cause to bless the Lord for you, and with you ; otherwise you shall fail, and evil shall be upon you, and upon the nation for your sakes.

“ You that fear God, give audience, and keep yourselves pure from the iniquities, which the rest love to drink in ; and though your power be shorter, and your voice lower than the uprightness of your hearts’ desire, be faithful unto God in bearing your testimony for Him, and against all that which with the light of Jesus, you see to be contrary to Him. Be awakened unto righteousness, judgment and mercy. The light is springing over your heads, and the day of the Lord is dawning out of darkness ; a seed is sown in your dominions which cannot be rooted out, till it has overspread the earth with the precious fruit thereof ; and though it be striven against to be plucked up, yet shall the branch and root thereof be everlastingly renowned, for it is the true Jew, and he that falls before it shall never rise up again.”

Edward Burrough, in the midst of his numerous other engagements, found time to superintend the printing of various writings from the prolific pen of his friend, and father in the Truth, George Fox. To some of these he prefixed or added a few lines. A preface written by him to one of these publications, entitled “ A Testimony of the true Light of the world,” bears date the 1st of the Eleventh Month, 1656. In this preface he says : “ This is truth from the Lord God —there is no other name given for salvation but the name of Jesus ; there is no other Christ Jesus but He who lighteth every man that cometh into the world. Except this Christ Jesus be revealed by the

Spirit of the Father within, salvation is not received by him. Therefore all Friends who have received the testimony of the light of the Son of God within you, and have believed the report of the Father, and of the Son, hold fast the word of that testimony and dwell in it, and walk in it. This is the power of God, which will keep you from all unrighteousness, and so from condemnation. If any turn from the light, they run into evil, and backslide from the Truth. Such shall bear their own shame and condemnation, in the sight of God, and all his children; for this is the message which was, and is, 'God is light, and in Him is no darkness at all.'"

John Bunyan was still unable to understand Quakerism, and being stirred up by the reply of Edward Burrough, he came out in print with a "Vindication" of his former charges against the Society of Friends. Edward was not long in following him through the press with an answer, in a quarto of 64 pages, entitled, "Truth the strongest of all." This reply set forth the doctrines of the Christian religion in words, which to one who was prepared to understand the language employed, and to give credit to the author for sincerity, would have been sufficient to establish the Scriptural soundness of Edward Burrough and his friends. But John Bunyan was not in a condition to perceive it, and it is probable that the closeness of the reproofs administered to him, had a tendency to blunt his appreciation of the force of the argument.

Soon after this publication, which was issued from the press, in the Twelfth Month of this year, Edward Burrough left London to visit the brethren in Essex. Francis Howgill being at this time in Kent. Edward soon returned to the city, where the difficulties connected with James Nayler and his ranting companions had not sub-

sided. Appreciating the trials to which some of the newly convinced were subjected, because of James Nayler's fall, Edward wrote two epistles of encouragement to them. These he sent from London the 2nd of the Third Month, 1657.

The first addressed "to all the called and chosen to faithfulness in Christ Jesus, and to such as are found worthy to suffer," contains the following, viz :

"Let your fellowship be in the life and power of God, and know not one another in words only, and in outward appearance, but witness one another in the spirit and in the Truth, and have communion there, in breaking the bread of life, that Christ Jesus may be seen to be head in you, and you members to serve Him, and one another, all receiving wisdom from the head, and virtue from the vine, Christ Jesus, that you may abound in love, mercy and peace, and all the fruits of righteousness unto the Father. Dwell in the fear and counsel of God, and be subject to his will, not despising the cross, which is the power of God, which slayeth the birth that is born of the flesh, which is not heir of the promise; but walk in the cross daily, that your understandings may be kept open, to try and discern all spirits, whether they be of God.

"Believe not every spirit, for lying spirits may arise among yourselves, and go forth from the light, who are not in the Truth, but in the feignedness and hypocrisy, with false visions, and lying imaginations, handling the word of God deceitfully, and corrupting and perverting the pure way of God; having the form, but not the power, having left the power and gone from the light. Such utter the words of Truth without the life, and are but as the

chaff to the wheat, and they are to be denied and resisted, and not joined to, lest innocency and simplicity be betrayed, and your faith made void, and so you be destroyed from the life of God, and death surprise you, and darkness enter your dwellings, and so unbelief, and doubting and murmuring, and lustings after evil arise in you, and you be perverted from the worship of the true God, and grieve his righteous spirit by bowing to idols, and following of other lovers; and so the true God, who hath brought you out of Egypt, and made manifest his power in you, be forgotten, and the faith of his Son made shipwreck of, and your latter end be worse than the beginning, and the name of the Lord be dishonored by you; and then woe unto you, his wrath shall suddenly break out against you.

“Wherefore hear and fear, and hearken unto the word of the Lord. He hath caused his light to shine forth, and his voice to be heard; He hath proclaimed his name amongst you, and hath caused his marvellous light to approach when you sat in darkness, in the land of the shadow of death. When you were lost, He sought you, and when you were driven away and scattered, He found you, and brought you home. When you were in your blood and no eye pitied you, He had mercy upon you, and bound you up, and healed you. When you were dead, He said unto you, live; and it was so. When you were led captive by the devil under the power of death, He broke the chains and set you free; and when there was none to help or save, his own arm brought deliverance and salvation, and the way of life and peace He set before you.

“And now all this hath his own arm accomplished, that you should be a praise unto Him for evermore. If you walk in the way which He hath set before you, and keep his covenant which He hath made with you, and ful-

fil his will, and walk in righteousness, in love, and unity, in meekness, lowliness, humbleness, and in soberness, and watchfulness, and in fear of his name; then shall his presence never forsake you, nor his outstretched arm cease to defend and preserve you. He shall go before you, and be your reward; and He shall be your God, and you shall be his people; and shall dwell in Him; and He shall be your hiding-place, and He will be to you a father, and you shall be his children, and his blessing and peace shall remain in your habitations forever and ever.”

“Believe not that spirit, neither follow it which ministereth to others that which it hath not learned of the Father, but hath the words without the power, and liveth not in the power of what it ministereth forth in words, nor is in what it declareth, but is in outward show, in the hypocrisy and feignedness, and reacheth not the life of God, but vaileth and covereth it; that spirit is not of the Father, but is to be denied and not received.

“Believe not that spirit, neither follow it, which is at liberty in the flesh, and maketh the offence of the cross to cease, which is exalted out of the fear of the Lord, in the liberty of the earthly, which crucifieth the life, and darkeneth the eye. That spirit will boast of joy and peace, and experience and knowledge, and speak high words in the airy mind, and would lead you to glory above the cross, till you be past feeling the life; and that spirit begetteth into the love of the world, which passeth away. Beware of that spirit, for it is not of the Father, but to be condemned.

“Believe not that spirit, neither follow it, which is hasty, and forward, and rash; for that goeth out of God’s counsel and betrayeth the just, and striveth to be greatest, and to be above the weak, and despiseth Him, and would be master, and not a servant, and would rule, and

not be ruled in the meek and lowly government of Christ. That spirit will judge rashly and unsavorily, and condemn another in secret in what itself is guilty of. Beware of that spirit, for it is not of God, but to be judged with the life of God."

"Believe not that spirit which draws back into the world, into its lusts and liberty, and fashions which pass away. That spirit forgets God and draws back, for his soul hath no pleasure in it, but is vexed with it, where the cross is made of none effect, and the false liberty is walked in, which murders the life. That spirit is of the devil, and is to be condemned.

"And now all friends of God everywhere, who know Him, and are known of Him, whom He hath gathered out of this untoward generation, be diligent in your callings, and keep your meetings in faithfulness, waiting upon the Lord, that you all may receive of his fulness, and may be nourished up unto himself, as trees of righteousness, the planting of his own right hand, to spread forth his name and glory, as a people saved by Him. And this know and understand, that spirit is not of the Father, which confesseth not the Son to be come in the flesh, who destroys the works of the devil, and takes away sin. That spirit believe and follow which condemns sin, and destroys it, and takes it away, and so gives peace with God in your consciences, and leads you into all truth, and keeps you from all evil. You that witness this, the Son you know, and the Father you know, to dwell with you, and in you; and this is the first and the last. Believe in Him, and follow Him, and look not for any other; and in this the Father of life and glory, whose dominion is without beginning and end, establish you, and preserve you; amen and amen.

EDWARD BURROUGH."

During this same month (3rd), Edward Burrough wrote a paper, which he terms, "A measure of the times," in which he takes a view of the glory of the first Christian, churches—their subsequent declension, and the final triumph of mystery Babylon, by which the true church was obscured or driven into the wilderness. In this, whilst describing the introduction of the Christian religion and the glory of the primitive church, he says: "In the days of Christ and his apostles the power of the Lord was felt, and He got Him a name and glory; He caused his marvellous light to spring forth, and his day to dawn, which many prophets and wise men had desired to see, but it was not seen by them. In that day his glory was spread abroad, his truth and way were exalted, his glorious Gospel was declared through the earth, and the sound of his marvellous works went forth into all the world. Judgment and mercy, righteousness and peace were witnessed among men, and life and immortality were brought to light through the Gospel. The word of life, by which all things were created and by which they stand, was handled, seen, felt and tasted, and the Lord God was known to dwell with his people and to walk in them. His covenant was established, and his promises were fulfilled. Redemption, deliverance and salvation were revealed, even Christ Jesus, the Son of God, the Prince of peace. Many who saw God's glory, were witnesses of his majesty and dominion, and were gathered to Him in the bond of peace, and were his sons and daughters, led by his spirit in the ways of truth and righteousness. God spake unto them from heaven by his Son, they were filled with the Holy Ghost and with power, and many went forth and declared through the nations the things of God's kingdom, which was come to them. Their weapons were

mighty through God ; strongholds were subdued, the powers of death and darkness were subjected, and the hearts of thousands were turned to God, and brought out of darkness into light. The mighty and the wise were confounded, the bonds of cruel oppression were broken, and they who set themselves against the Lord and his way, were scattered and brought to nought.

“ In that day the Lord was with his people, while his people were with Him. He loved them while they stood in his counsel, and gave them dominion over their enemies. They were a terror to the world, while the churches stood in the dread and terror of the Lord of Hosts. Their feet trod upon the high places of the earth and they were blessed, until they waxed fat and increased in treasures, and thought they had need of nothing. Then they forgot God, and rebelled against Him : they became perverse in their ways, fell into error and idolatry, and left the way of truth, and cast the law of God behind them. The form grew and was exalted more than the power of godliness. As love waxed cold, iniquity abounded, and men became lovers of themselves more than of the Lord. The churches were corrupted, they lost the life and power of godliness, and became worshippers of idols. As Paul predicted that many should depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils, and grievous wolves should enter, not sparing the flock, but seeking to devour it, making merchandize of souls through covetousness and filthy lucre ; so it came to pass in that generation, and soon after his decease. Peter and Jude foresaw the entrance of false prophets, and John both in his epistles and the Revelations describes them more fully.

“ The baptism of the spirit being lost or not known,

several sorts of baptism were brought forth ; as sprinkling of infants, with which the nations have been deceived by the false prophets. When the gift of the ministry, through the Holy Ghost, was lost and no more received, men began to make ministers, by learning arts and languages and human policy. They began to study from books and writings, what to preach, not having the Holy Ghost, without which none are ministers of Christ. When men lost the knowledge of God, that their bodies were his temple, then they began to build temples without, and to set up false worships in them. Having lost the sense of God's true worship, which is in spirit and in truth, they began to worship in outward observances, which is not the worship of God, but superstitious and idolatrous. When the word of God was not received immediately from his mouth, nor the Gospel by the revelation of Jesus Christ, as in the apostles days, they used their tongues, though the Lord had not spoken to them, and they said that the letter is the Word, the letter is the Gospel, and it must be received by the Scriptures, and by natural learning and arts ; and none can be ministers of Christ, but those who are learned in the languages. When singing in the spirit and with the understanding ceased, then people began to introduce the form of singing David's experiences in rhyme and metre, and thus in the apostacy, the form grew as a substitute for that which the saints had enjoyed in power ; shadows were set up instead of the substance, and death instead of life.

"Thus we see John's prophecy fulfilled, that the holy city was given to be trodden under the feet of the Gentiles ; and we also know the time is now approaching that the dominion of the beast is near at an end, and the saints shall possess the holy city. For He also foretold the res-

toration of the holy city, wherein new Jerusalem should be made manifest from heaven, and should be again adorned as a bride for her husband; the tabernacle of God should be with men upon earth, and the Lord would dwell forever with his people. This day is approaching nigh at the door, for the fig tree hath blossomed, and we know it is near at hand; the summer;—wherein the glory of the Lord shall be revealed to all nations, and they shall know that He is the Lord God Almighty, who will take vengeance on mystery Babylon, that hath made all nations drunk with the cup of her abominations.”

The popular preachers of that day, with an evident desire to stop the spreading of the religious principles of the Society of Friends, stirred up persecution against those who promulgated them. The severity with which justices, judges and juries treated the members of the new society was very great, and was often not only incompatible with the spirit of the Christian religion, but with a just interpretation of the laws of England, and the provisions of Magna Charta. Many of those who now suffered at the hands of bigoted Presbyterians and Independents, unconstitutional outrage and legalized oppression, had been actually engaged in overturning the legal government, because of its infringements of the rights of the subject. How deeply were they disappointed in finding the great principles of civil and religious liberty no better secured by the government they had labored to set up, than they had been in the days of the Star Chamber and Episcopal domination. A revolution had taken place, but it had brought to the Christian citizen a mere change of masters, a substitute of another code of state divinity, by which to fashion his worship, principles and practice, leaving liberty of conscience as little protected as ever. Many

found, and bitter was their disappointment at finding, that the power and the disposition to invade their rights, civil and religious, still continued, although the rulers had been changed. The king had given place to the Parliament,—the Parliament to the army,—the army to Oliver Cromwell;—a succession of power-holders, none of whom seemed disposed to support upon a broad and Christian basis, the principles of religious toleration, or civil liberty. Cromwell, whilst he was ascending towards the supreme authority, professed great attachment to religious liberty. But when once he had grasped the sceptre of rule—in violation of the oath he had taken when inaugurated as Protector—and in violation, we must believe, of the convictions of his own conscience, he connived at, if he did not sometimes prompt, the cruel treatment which the members of the Society of Friends were without justice, receiving at the hands of his officers. He knew the principles of the Society, and having expressed his satisfaction with the declaration of George Fox, which showed that they believed it wrong to use the sword in any case, he could have been under no fear of their injuring his person or unsettling his government.

The hireling preachers had greater cause of apprehension. The influence of the doctrines of the new Society, was felt by them to be great and increasing, and they knew that influence was operating against their pecuniary interest. The Scripture testimony against preaching for hire, and against paying for preaching, either in money or in tithes of kind, was beginning to be understood by many, and with the powerful ministry of the Quakers, was drawing off numbers every where from the parish places of worship, and the gatherings of other religious societies where hirelings officiated. The loss of their

flocks, and the bold and truthful denunciations against the immoral conduct which disgraced many of the clergy, stirred them up to acts of hostility and hatred against Friends. These priests appear in many instances, to have been more eager for the loaves and fishes, the recompense pertaining to their office by human law, or by congregational agreement apportioned for hire, than to win souls to Christ.

Oliver Cromwell felt that his government was in its foundation unstable and only to be maintained by vigilant watchfulness, supported by the prompt action of the military force. His policy was to cultivate the good will of those who had the greatest influence to incite opposition to him among the people, and he did not choose to irritate the clergy by protecting the persecuted Quakers from their power. Edward Burrough, who was well acquainted with the history of Oliver Cromwell, and who had closely studied his character, had with his pen called the attention of the Protector, to the vows he had made before he was exalted to power; and how he now permitted grievous oppression and cruelty to be acted in his name, even by those who were his enemies. He told him that he was not ignorant of the merciless proceedings acted against Friends; and as he did not restrain them, the Divine judgments would overtake him unless he repented. The first address presented to Oliver Cromwell by Edward, was written whilst he was in Ireland in 1655; and as the cruelty practiced against his fellow-members continued to increase, in the year 1657, he again employed his pen in various addresses, laying before the Protector a view of the state of things in England, in a strain of mingled entreaty and warning.

It is said that Cromwell in a public prayer offered up

by him when about to attack the Scottish army at Dunbar, declared that if the Lord would give him the victory that day, he would relieve the country from the great oppression of tithes. This promise in the day of his power he had not fulfilled, and the members of the Society of Friends at this time (1657), were enduring great persecution, because they felt conscientiously restrained from paying for the support of a hireling ministry. In the Fourth Month Edward Burrough had an interview with Cromwell, in which he laid verbally before him the sufferings of Friends. The Protector endeavored to justify himself by saying that all persecutions and cruelty were contrary to his will, and that he was not guilty of the injustice done to the Quakers. On reflecting on this assertion of Cromwell, Edward again wrote to him.

“Consider what the cause is, that what thou desirest not to be done, is yet done. Is it not that thou mayest please men; making it appear thou art more willing to do the false teachers of this nation and wicked men a pleasure, than to own the people of God, in relieving them, and easing them in their cruel burdens and oppressions, laid upon them by unjust men? For a word of thy mouth, or a show of thy countenance, in dislike to these cruel and unjust persecutions, would bind the hands of many bloodthirsty men. Therefore consider; thou canst not be cleared in the sight of the Lord God from them, being acted under thee, and in thy name; for there seems rather to be a favoring of them in thee, by forbearance of the actors of cruelty by which their hands are strengthened, than any dislike showed by thee, in bearing thy witness, as thou oughtest to do against them. For thou knowest of some in the city and elsewhere, whom we know to be just men, who suffer imprisonment and the

loss of their liberties, because for conscience sake they cannot swear; and many others in this nation, suffering cruel things upon the like or same ground, even for well-doing and not for evil, which oppression might be removed and their unjust sufferings taken off by thee, by a word from thy mouth or pen; and this makes that thou canst not be clear in the sight of God in these things, because not helped by thee, who has the power to help them.

EDWARD BURROUGH."

In the Sixth Month, as no action appeared to be taken by Cromwell for relieving those oppressed for conscience sake, Edward once more visited him by a letter of remonstrance and warning, in which he told him that the good name Protector which he bore, was abused and subverted, through the great oppressions and injustice acted under it. He says, that several justices of the peace and others had been cast out of places of trust, because they owned the people called Quakers, though they had not refused to serve him and the commonwealth and though no unfaithfulness to their trust had been proved against them.

In the Seventh Month he again addressed the Protector. In this letter he said, and Cromwell well knew the truth of the assertion, that many persons were plotting his destruction, some of whom, if they could take his life, regarded not the danger they might encounter in effecting that purpose. He adds, that as Cromwell was allowing tyranny and oppression, the Lord might permit other wicked men to plague the present wicked rulers, and suffer other oppressors to overcome the present enactors of oppression.

CHAPTER VII.

ROBERT MAYO, the priest of Kingston, on the Thames, about the beginning of the year 1657, sent a message to Edward Burrough, requesting a visit from him. Edward accepted the invitation, and was told by Mayo to speak freely whatever he had against him. The priest also offered to meet him to dispute either in public or private, and challenge him to come to his steeple-house and call him a deceiver if he dare. Edward was not easily frightened, and soon afterwards went to the place of worship where Mayo officiated. The priest, probably because Edward was present, made some assertions which he perhaps deemed as antidotes to Quakerism; one was, "that Paul, as a minister of Christ, exhorted the saints to follow and obey a Light, which was not Christ nor the Light of the Gospel." Another, "that people ought to follow and obey a Light which is not Christ, nor the Light of the Gospel." The third, "That a man may be a righteous man, and not a godly man." The fourth, "that the Light of Christ, which every man is lighted withal, is carnal and darkness."—John i. 9. The fifth, "that Christ was not the Word that David walked by."

After Mayo had finished his discourse, Edward declared these doctrines to be erroneous and damnable, and he who promulgated them was a deceiver. It does not appear that any attempt was made by the priest to defend the assertions he had made, but he commenced a suit against Edward for slander. Edward was arrested and cast into prison, but does not appear to have been detained there

very long. The case was not tried until the Fifth Month in the following year, when we shall again advert to it.

On the 15th day of the Sixth Month, 1657, Edward Burrough either wrote or finished a testimony concerning London. It contains a close reproof against treachery, flattery, hypocrisy, pride, wantonness and wickedness, as well as a warning to flee from them, and a tender invitation to come unto Christ Jesus, that salvation may be experienced.

Attached to this "Testimony concerning London," is the following, viz:

A WARNING TO ALL SORTS OF PEOPLE.

"Ye merchants, and traders, and traffickers, and all ye that buy and sell, be plain and upright-hearted; and lie not, swear not, dissemble not for gain unto yourselves, for that is cursed of the Lord, and the gain that is thereby received. Speak the truth every man to his neighbor; flatter not such with whom you deal by feigned words of guile, whilst secret over-reaching lodgeth in your hearts, to make a prey upon your neighbor or brother, for this is evil in the sight of the Lord; but speak the truth in all things, and let your yea be yea, and your nay nay, in all your common occasions, for whatsoever is more is evil. What is advantaged unto you through deceit, or lying, or multitude of vain words? It shall be a curse unto you, and not a blessing to you or to your children. Let the truth guide you in all your dealings one with another, and let the fear of God be in your hearts in all your enterprises both by sea and land.

I warn you all, seek not by any evil means to enrich yourselves, neither oppress one another in anything

wherein you deal ; for you know not how long your time shall be upon earth, nor how soon the day of account will come, wherein every word and every work shall be brought to judgment, yea for every idle word shall ye give an account, and all those words are idle which are not spoken in the fear of the Lord ; therefore live and act in the fear of God, that you may be blessed in all that you do.

And all ye whom the Lord hath blessed with riches and increase, see that you abuse not that which God hath blessed you withal, but in all things that it be used to the glory of the Lord, and not wasted in excess upon the lust of your own minds ; for the creation is the Lord's, and all things are given by Him, and taken away at his pleasure, and He maketh rich, and He maketh poor whomsoever He will. Therefore every man be content with his own, and covet not one another's, nor defraud one another to enrich yourselves, for it is cursed of the Lord.

And all ye handicraft people, and laboring people, fear ye the Lord continually, and use no deceit, nor craft, nor policy in what you do. Seek not to blind men's eyes by fair outsides, neither to cozen and cheat the simple by slightly work ; but let the Truth guide you, and that will teach you to do for all men as ye would they should do for you, and this is acceptable in the sight of God. Let your commodities be just and right, and let all your labor be with a single heart, and do all things as in the sight of the Lord, and then you cannot do evil, if the fear of God be before your eyes. The evil in all things will be denied, and the corruption that is entered into all callings and trades, will be judged out ; and be examples one to another of truth and righteousness ; and cozen not, nor cheat one another, nor use many words, nor vain gestures, but

own the Lord to be your teacher, who will teach you truth, to do it, and to speak it in all things.

And all ye young men and apprentices, learn ye the fear of the Lord, and take heed of temptations, lest ye be destroyed both soul and body by them. Learn not to dissemble, nor to defraud, nor take instructions how to cozen and cheat, but first seek the kingdom of God and its righteousness, and then all outward things shall be added unto you. Give not yourselves to any evil. Beware of wine and women, which steal away the hearts of many. Give not yourselves to vanity, nor fulfil the desire of your own minds in anything. Covet not after riches, neither study how to be proud and vain-glorious. Give not yourselves to craft and human policies, nor to deceive any people; but fear God and keep his commandments, and be subject to your masters, and obey them in all things that are good, and be dutiful to them in that which is just and righteous, but deny them in whatsoever is evil. Learn not craft and policy from them, neither vice, nor drunkenness, nor cozening, nor any other thing which is evil, but rather reprove those things, than in the least to follow them. If you do the truth, and speak the truth in all things, and keep yourselves from whatsoever is evil, then will the Lord bless you outwardly, and inwardly, and the knowledge of God will be your crown in old age. Cease from all gamings, and vain sportings, and from all wantonness and vain pleasures, and from all the works of the flesh; for they that follow such things shall neither prosper in this world, nor be blessed in the world to come. Wherefore take heed unto yourselves all ye that are young in the world; be not overcome of evil, nor follow evil devices, but stand in awe continually, and offend not God, who gives you life, and health, and all good things.

And all ye masters and heads of families, this is a warning to you. Be examples of all good in your families unto your children and servants. Rule in authority in the fear of God, but not in tyranny nor a rigorous mind; teach and instruct in fear, and not in cruelty. Give no bad example in pride, vain-glory, drunkenness, dissimulation, or any other evil thing, but stand as a terror over all evil, and as encouragers of all good. Bind not the conscience of any under your power, curb sin only, and reprove not righteousness. Seek ye to be taught of God, and then may you instruct all under you in his way; be pitiful towards your children and servants, and pass by offences rather than punish them with cruelty. And make not a prey upon your servants, to serve your own ends only, seeking your own good only, and not theirs; for such things are evil in the sight of God, and are to be condemned. Let no excess, neither let want be in your families, but that which is honest and right. Love that in all things, and follow it. Let not your anger and passion exceed when offence is given you, and do not correct in cruelty, but in a good understanding; and walk in the Truth, and fulfil the will of God; and not your own, and this is of great price and acceptable in the sight of the Lord.

And all ye tavern keepers and inn keepers, fear the Lord God, and oppress not your guest, neither feed the lust of any till they be drunk, for that is cursed of God both in you and them, and that which He will be avenged of. Oh, great is that abomination among you. Much of the good creatures is vainly and wickedly spent and abused in your dwellings. [You think] your advantage stands in the abuse of the creatures by excess, and the Lord is grieved with you because of that.

And all sorts of people, rich and poor, high and low, masters and servants, parents and children, buyers and sellers, tradesmen and laborers, hearken to the counsel of God, and seek to know his will to you in all things, that you may do it, in following all that is good, and denying all that is evil, that your souls may live. Let not the devil lead you, nor his temptations overcome you in anything, but resist him in whatsoever he would lead you into, which is against God and contrary to Him.

Repent of all evil that ever you have acted, and let the Lord be your guide, that you may not utterly perish, and your city be destroyed for your sakes. The Lord's love is towards you, and He waits to be gracious unto you, and desireth your return, rather than your destruction, and would heal you if you did wait upon Him, and would bless your city, and make you happy in it, if you do his will, and deny your own.

I am a friend unto all your souls, and a publisher of peace, and of glad tidings to all that thirst for the Lord, and He hath given me power to warn you of all your iniquities and abominations, to deny them, and to warn you to follow that which is good. Oh, that ye knew in this your day the things which belong to your peace, which now ye may know, before they be totally hid from your eyes, and there be no place for repentance, nor time of returning. This day will come upon many, and they cannot escape it, who now harden their hearts against the way of their own peace, and even scorn to be reprov'd for their transgression. Such my soul pities, who are going in the way of destruction, and run hastily into perdition. I have many times been made sad by reason of such, when I have measured the condition of all people; upon my bed, I have pondered what abomination was in

thee, and what would be the end thereof, and I have desired nothing so much, as that I might faithfully warn thee, and free myself, and the Lord from the blood of all men. Deep thoughts have been upon me, concerning what the counsel of the Lord is unto you all, that I might manifest the Truth, and discover the abominations, and I have not spared to cry repentance unto sinners, that sinners might be converted, and turn unto the Lord; and thus far I am clear of the blood of all men, and the Lord is clear, and if the wicked perish, it is because of their unbelief and gainsaying of the Lord. This is the testimony which I give unto thee, and unto all thy people; O London, hearken and consider! this is the day of your visitation, and there is not another way to life, nor to escape everlasting death and destruction, than that which the Lord hath showed you. Blessed is he that can receive it, and they that deny it do utterly perish without mercy.

I am as a stranger among you, yet well known to the Lord, and the testimony of God concerning you shall stand forever, for it is true, and shall not be confounded, though the wicked reject it to their own destruction.

EDWARD BURROUGH."

London, the 15th of the Sixth Month, 1657.

Edward Burrough appears to have remained in London and neighborhood, most of the summer of 1657, and was as usual industrious, both in his vocal labors and with his pen. In "A just and lawful trial of the teachers and professed ministry of this age," he draws a striking contrast between the hireling priests of his day, and the ministers of the apostolic ages. "The last were made ministers of Christ by the gift of the Holy Ghost, and by power from on high only; and what they ministered to others,

they freely received from Christ, and had handled, felt and tasted of the word of life. The former are made ministers by natural learning, education, the knowledge of arts, and by the ordination of men." "The ministers of Jesus Christ went up and down through the world, declaring the word of the Lord freely in the market places, in the synagogues, and in the streets. They went from country to country, and were strangers upon earth." "The hireling priests settle themselves to preach at one place, receiving so much a year for what they do. The ministers of Christ sought to make people Christians by bringing them into fellowship with God, through conversion and a knowledge of the truth. Neither did they account any as such who had not experienced repentance, and their hearts changed by the Holy Spirit. The hirelings pretend to make Christians by sprinkling them with water while infants."

In this year he also wrote a doctrinal work, entitled "A Standard lifted up, and an ensign held forth to all nations;" in which he sets forth some of the principles and testimonies of the religious Society of Friends.

Some time about the Ninth Month of this year, Christopher Fowler, a priest at Reading, in Berkshire, challenged Edward Burrough to a public dispute. This challenge was accepted, but appears to have been conducted on the part of Christopher with little decency or decorum. Edward says: "many in that town may well remember how he hooted and clapped his hands in the pulpit, as if he had been hunting on a mountain, and also his ungodly speeches, and revilings toward me; calling me dog, villain, and such like names. When some of his own people reprov'd him for such words, he said: 'the worst words he had in his mouth were too good for me.'"

The principal part of the dispute appears to have been, an attempt on the part of Fowler, to prove the Scriptures to be the Word of God ; whilst Edward endeavored to show that the Scriptures are a declaration and witness of the Word of God, which Word, Christ Jesus, was in the beginning, and endures forever. He says, that the worlds were made by the Word of God ; and the Scriptures did not make the world, neither were they from the beginning ; having been commenced by Moses.

To the false charges and unsound doctrines of his opponent, Edward Burrough returned sound and cogent replies, so far as he could procure opportunity, but he complains, that liberty of speech was not fairly allowed him, Fowler endeavoring to persuade the mayor that he might insinuate his doctrine into the people. As Edward pressed him about tithes, he became very uneasy ; three times went out of the pulpit, and finally went away.

After the dispute, Edward returned to London, where in the Tenth Month he finished a work entitled "The true Christian religion again discovered, after the long and dark night of apostacy." It commences thus: "Forasmuch as Oliver Cromwell, called Lord Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland, chief ruler according to man, hath bound himself by an oath, and sworn that he will uphold and maintain the true reformed Protestant Christian religion in the purity thereof, as it is contained in the Old and New Testament of the Scriptures ; which oath he is bound to perform before the Lord and unto all men. Now it remains to be tried and proved, what the Christian religion is, and who they are in these nations that are of the true reformed Protestant Christian religion, in the purity thereof, as it is contained in the Scriptures. There are abundance of sects and diversity of judgments, and

many assemblies and gatherings of people, ho are diverse in their ways, in their practices, and in their forms of religion in these nations, who do all profess the Scriptures, and that their form of religion is according thereto. But this cannot be, for the Scriptures, which were given forth by the one spirit of God, bear not witness of many true ways, or unto many true religions, but unto the one truth, and unto one true religion. It is the declaration of one way of life and salvation by one, Jesus Christ. There is no other name under heaven given for salvation, and they that believe on Him, and receive Him, these are they only that are of the true religion. They are guided by the spirit, and changed thereby from death to life; such have unity with the Father, and with the Son, and one with another. They are not of this world, but heirs of the kingdom of God."

"Therefore, come all sorts of people, and let us try and prove who it is that is of the true religion, and who it is he is bound to maintain and uphold by his oath. Come, I say, all sects and sorts of people, and appear to trial. Dare you join issue with me in this matter, and try your profession and practice of religion, whether it be according to the Scriptures in the purity thereof, yea or nay? The Lord hath put in my heart, to lay you all to the line of true judgment, and to prove you, whether you must be upholden and maintained in your religion, yea, or nay. Come claim your privilege; if your profession and practice in religion be according to the Scriptures, then you may own your right, and the benefit of the Protector's oath. But if your profession and practice in religion be otherwise, and not according to the Scriptures, then you must stand back, and defend yourselves if you can, for the Protector is not bound to maintain and uphold you

in your practice of religion. And with this argument I shall try you all. Whatsoever is professed and practised for religion, for which there is neither command nor precedent in Scripture, is not according to the Scripture. Let this fall where it may, it is truth; and therefore all people come to trial, and receive your judgment by this rule.

“And first, the true religion is walking with God in purity and holiness; a performing of good to Him, and not doing any evil; a belief in Christ, and receiving of Him, and through the operation of his Spirit to be changed into his image; and the body of sin and death put off, and a living to God in all things, and not a living to this vain world in anything; but in all things to be guided by the Spirit of Christ. This in short, is a description of the true religion; and they that are of this religion shall be saved in the day of the Lord, and in equity and righteousness should be protected according to the oath before mentioned; or else the oath is not performed in justice, but rather broken through transgression. And first of all, as concerning that profession and practice in religion, which is most general in these nations, I mean such as sprinkle infants, and are sprinkled being infants; professing it to be the baptism into the faith of Christ; and that it is a seal of the new covenant, and of remission of sins, and that thereby people are made capable of union with Christ, and that it is a sign of regeneration, &c. This is practised and professed by many for religion; but this practice and doctrine are not according to the Scriptures; therefore all ye, through all these nations, that are made Christians, and own your title in Christianity, and a right to fellowship with Christ; and that ye are joined to the church, and become members of Christ, because you were

sprinkled when you were infants, and all ye that preach this for doctrine, and practice it for religion, you are not of the true Christian religion, in the purity thereof, as it is contained in the Scriptures; this I do affirm. Therefore stand you by; for what you practise and profess, there is neither command nor precedent in Scripture; if you could show any, you are now called, and a necessity is put upon you, to make use of your knowledge, if you would be protected in this commonwealth, in your practice of religion.

“Likewise you sing, and give to sing David’s Psalms in rhyme and metre, professing it is to the glory and honor of God. Ye practise this as an ordinance of God, as a part of his worship, and as a part of your religion; but this practice and profession also are manifest not to be according to the Scriptures; because it was never commanded; neither is there any precedent for this practice in the Scriptures, in Gospel times. Therefore in this part of your religion you cannot justly claim to be protected and maintained; because the Protector’s oath reacheth not to uphold and maintain any such practices in religion, which are not according to the Scriptures.

“Likewise all ye, whose ministers preach for hire, and have hire for preaching, so much a year, and so much a sermon at a town, or a parish in a settled place; and who take tithes, and compel people to pay tithes by a law; such are not the ministers of Christ. And ye that uphold such for the ministers of Christ, are false in judgment, and blind in understanding; and are not of that Christian religion, which is according to the Scriptures in the purity thereof, neither ministers, nor people; for the ministers of Christ never acted any such thing. They were the false prophets, and false apostles, that preached for hire, and

for gifts and rewards; neither did the saints and churches of Christ look upon them that acted those things, to be ministers of Christ; but on the contrary, declared them to be deceivers. So that all you people, and you professed ministers, that act those things that the false prophets acted; and you people that love to have it so, and give hire to your ministers for preaching, and consent unto it; none of you are of the Christian religion, as it is held forth in the Scriptures; because this part of your practice in religion is not according, but contrary to the Scriptures."

On the 18th of the Eleventh Month, 1657, Edward Burrough had a dispute with Richard Goodgroom, at Drayton, in Middlesex. The principal points in the controversy appear to have been whether the Scriptures were properly the Word, and whether Christ justified sinners as sinners; or in other words, whilst remaining in sin. In the First Month following, another dispute was held at the same place, between the same parties, which appears to have been more public than the first. One point disputed on this last occasion, was the truth of a proposition which Edward had laid down in the first, viz: "Temptations or motions unto evil, are not sin to any man, who doth not consent and obey to serve temptations or evil motions, and they are not sin to the man, except they be consented to by the man." In defending this proposition, Edward appealed to the experience of all sober people who heard him, "Whether many times there had not been evil motions in their hearts, presenting themselves, to which they had not consented; but the Lord had given them power over them, and they were not overcome of them? And whether they were ever accused or condemned for such motions which the Lord gave them

power against? or, whether rather they had not peace and joy in the Lord, who had discovered to them, and given them power over the evil which had presented itself?" Edward says, "I also gave them that which I had witnessed concerning the thing, as a testimony, agreeing with the Scriptures, to that particular." "From ten years old, till many years after, many times I had evil motions arising in my own heart, which sometimes overcame me, and sometimes the Lord gave me to overcome them, so that I consented not to them, nor obeyed, nor followed them. When they overcame me and led me aside, then I was troubled and condemned of the Lord; for they were reckoned to be my sins, when I consented; and many times the Lord gave me power over them, and I consented not, but resisted them, and denied them, and then I had great peace and joy in the Lord, and no condemnation."

On the subject of Sanctification and Justification, Edward said: "Sanctification is a witness of justification, and no man can further know himself to be justified, than he is sanctified; nor justified, than he is restored."

We find little trace of Edward Burrough after this dispute for several months, but it is probable he spent the time principally in London and Kingston. He doubtless attended the general meeting of Friends held towards the close of the Third Month, 1658, at the house of John Crook, in Bedfordshire. He probably accompanied William Caton there, who says he went with Friends from Kingston. In the Fourth Month he delivered, or caused to be delivered into the hands of the Protector, at Hampton Court, a letter, in which he proposes that Friends might have a public opportunity of answering such objections as he felt, to their doctrines or practices. It was probably in the same month, that in company with George

Fox and Nicholas Bond, he had a dispute with a Jesuit at the house of the Earl of Newport, in London. The Jesuit had recently arrived from Spain, in the suite of the ambassador from the court at Madrid, and in the pride of head knowledge, challenged all the Quakers to dispute with him. George Fox hearing of this, let him know that Friends would meet him. The Jesuit then restricted his challenge to twelve of the most learned Quakers. Soon he reduced it to six, and finally sent them word that not more than three must come. A discussion of much piquancy took place; but the letter-learned Jesuit, with all his subtlety, was altogether unable to stand against the honest straightforward simplicity of George Fox, and he most signally failed in the controversy. The following account of this interview is from the Journal of George Fox, viz :

“ When we were come to the house, I bid Nicholas Bond and Edward Burrough go up and enter the discourse with him ; and I would walk awhile in the yard, and then come up after them. I advised them to state this question to him, ‘ Whether or no the church of Rome, as it now stood, was not degenerated from the true church which was in the primitive times, from the life and doctrine, and from the power and spirit that they were in ? ’ They stated the question accordingly, and the Jesuit affirmed : ‘ That the church of Rome now was in the virginity and purity of the primitive church.’ By this time I was come to them. Then we asked him, ‘ Whether they had the Holy Ghost poured out upon them, as the apostles had ? ’ He said, ‘ No.’ ‘ Then,’ said I, ‘ If ye have not the same Holy Ghost poured forth upon you, and the same power and Spirit that the apostles had, ye are degenerated from


the power and Spirit which the primitive church was in.' There needed little more to be said to that.

"Then I asked him, 'What Scripture they had for setting up cloisters for nuns, abbeys and monasteries for men, for all their several orders; for their praying by beads, and to images; for making crosses; for forbidding of meats and marriages, and for putting people to death for religion? If,' said I, 'ye are in the practice of the primitive church, in its purity and virginity, then let us see by Scriptures wherever they practised any such thing?' (For it was agreed on both hands, that we should make good by Scriptures what we said.) Then he told us of a written word, and an unwritten word. I asked him what he called his unwritten word? He said, 'The written word is the Scriptures, and the unwritten word is that which the apostles spoke by word of mouth; which,' said he, 'are all those traditions that we practise,' I bid him prove that by Scripture. Then he brought that Scripture where the apostle says, 2 Thess., ii. 5, 'When I was with you, I told you these things.' 'That is,' said he, 'I told you of nunneries and monasteries, and of putting to death for religion, and of praying by beads and to images, and all the rest of the practices of the church of Rome, which,' he said, 'was the unwritten word of the apostles, which they told then, and have since been continued down by tradition unto these times.'

"Then I desired him to read that Scripture again that he might see how he had perverted the apostle's words; for that which the apostle there tells the Thessalonians—'he had told them before,' is not an unwritten word, but is there written down, namely, 'that the man of sin, the son of perdition, shall be revealed before the great and terrible day of Christ,' which he was writing of 'should

come:’ so this was not telling them any of those things that the church of Rome practises. In like manner the apostle, in the third chapter of that epistle, tells the church of some disorderly persons he heard were amongst them, busy-bodies who did not work at all; concerning whom he had commanded them by his unwritten word, when he was among them, that if any would not work neither, should he eat: which now he commands them again in his written word in this epistle.—2 Thess., iii. So this Scripture afforded no proof for their invented traditions, and he had no other Scripture proof to offer. Therefore I told him, ‘This was another degeneration of their church into such inventions and traditions as the apostles and primitive saints never practised.’¹

“After this he came to his sacrament of the altar, beginning at the paschal lamb, and the show-bread, and came to the words of Christ, ‘This is my body,’ and to what the apostle wrote of it to the Corinthians; concluding, ‘That after the priest had consecrated the bread and wine, it was immortal and Divine, and he that received it received the whole Christ.’ I followed him through the Scriptures he brought till I came to Christ’s words and the apostle’s. I showed him, ‘That the same apostle told the Corinthians, after they had taken bread and wine in remembrance of Christ’s death, that they were reprobates if Christ was not in them; but if the bread they eat was Christ, he must of necessity be in them after they had eaten it. Besides, if this bread and this wine, which the Corinthians ate and drank was Christ’s body, then how hath Christ a body in heaven?’ I observed to him also, ‘that both the disciples at the supper, and the Corinthians afterwards, were to eat the bread and drink the wine ‘in remembrance of Christ,’ and to ‘show forth



his death till He come;' which plainly proves the bread and wine, which they took was not his body. For if it had been his real body that they ate, then He had been come, and was then there present, and it had been improper to have done such a thing in remembrance of Him, if He had been then present with them, as He must have been if that bread and wine which they ate and drank had been his real body.' "

"As to those words of Christ, 'This is my body,' I told him, 'Christ calls himself a vine, and a door, and is called in Scripture a rock. Is Christ therefore an outward rock, door, or vine?' 'O,' said the Jesuit, 'Those words are to be interpreted;,' 'so,' said I, 'are those words of Christ, "This is my body."'

"Having stopped his mouth as to argument, I made the Jesuit a proposal thus: 'That seeing,' he said, 'the bread and wine was immortal and Divine, and the very Christ; and that whosoever received it, received the whole Christ;,' let a meeting be appointed between some whom the pope and his cardinals should appoint, and some of us; let a bottle of wine and a loaf of bread be brought, and divided each into two parts, and let them consecrate which of those parts they would. Then set the consecrated and the unconsecrated bread and wine in a safe place, with a sure watch upon it, and let trial be thus made, whether the consecrated bread and wine would not lose its goodness, and the bread grow dry and mouldy, and the wine turn dead and sour, as well and as soon as that which was unconsecrated. By this means,' said I, 'the truth of this matter may be made manifest. And if the consecrated bread and wine change not, but retain their savor and goodness, this may be a means to draw many to your church. If they change, decay, and lose their goodness,

then ought you to confess and forsake your error, and shed no more blood about it: for much blood hath been shed about these things, as in Queen Mary's days.'

"To this the Jesuit made this reply: 'Take,' said he, 'a piece of new cloth and cut it into two pieces, and make two garments of it, and put one of them upon King David's back, and the other upon a beggar's, and the one garment shall wear away as well as the other.' 'Is this thy answer,' said I? 'Yes,' said he. 'Then,' said I, 'by this the company may all be satisfied that your consecrated bread and wine is not Christ. Have ye told people so long, that the consecrated bread and wine was immortal and Divine, and that it was the very and real body and blood of Christ, and dost thou now say it will wear away and decay as well as the other? I must tell thee, 'Christ remains the same to day as yesterday,' and never decays; but is the saints' heavenly food in all generations, through which they have life.' He replied no more to this, being willing to let it fall; for the people that were present saw his error, and that he could not defend it.

"Then I asked him, 'Why their church did persecute and put people to death for religion?' He replied, 'It was not the church that did it, but the magistrates.' I asked him, 'Whether those magistrates were not counted and called believers and Christians?' He said, 'Yes.' 'Why, then,' said I, 'are they not members of your church?' 'Yes' said he. Then I left it to the people to judge from his own confessions, whether the church of Rome doth not persecute and put people to death for religion. Thus we parted, and his subtlety was confuted by simplicity."

On the 31st of the Fifth Month came on the suit of Parson Mayo, against Edward Burrough, for defamation.

Edward demurred to the jurisdiction of the court to try causes "of a spiritual dependency," and showed as he thought, conclusively, from the laws of England, that those before whom he was brought had no power to try the case. In reply one of the judges told him, they would overrule that, and would try the matter.


On the day of the court, when the jury were to be chosen, Edward told the judges that as it was doctrine which was to be tried, the jurymen should be such as had the gift of the Holy Spirit. The judges however took the ground, that the jurymen had nothing to do but to try whether the words charged had been spoken by Edward. When the trial came on, Edward Burrough easily proved that the priest had laid down the before-mentioned propositions, and then offered to show from Scripture, the doctrines therein contained to be unsound. The court directed the jury to give the priest damages, and they brought in a verdict in his favor for £100. At the next court, held Seventh Month, 25th following, Mayo, by his counsel, moved for a judgment on the verdict. Edward being present, was allowed to speak, and so clearly proved the truth of all he had said, and Mayo so lamely defended himself, that the court did not give the judgment. It remained for some time under advisement, but it is believed that Mayo never obtained anything.

In the Sixth Month, Edward Burrough once more addressed a letter to Oliver Cromwell. It commences thus: "Know that there is a God that doeth whatsoever He will. All power is in his hand, and He bringeth to pass the counsel of his own heart, and He ruleth in the kingdoms of men, and bringeth down and setteth up: He killeth and maketh alive; and He changeth times, and seasons, and governments, and bringeth to naught the counsels of

men; for all power in earth and in heaven is in Him. All his doings are right, and his ways are equal, and thou and all mankind are as clay in the hand of the potter. He can honor and exalt as He pleaseth, and He can mar, and break to pieces, and dishonor whensoever He will. Wherefore be humble, and low in heart before Him, for He is the highest power, that subdueth all things under his feet. If He wound, who can heal? If He kill, there is none can make alive. Know thou, it is the Lord God Almighty that doth this, in whose hands are the issues of life and death; and He it is who can break thee down, and build thee up; who can wound thee, and restore thee; and bring thee to destruction, and say unto thee, return; and to know Him that doth this, belongs to thy eternal peace, &c."

Edward then entreats Oliver to hearken to the Word of the Lord, that his soul may come out of death and live. He says, "Fear the Lord God, before whom thy heart is naked and bare. He can mould thee and change thee, and fulfil his pleasure upon thee, even according to his own will; and who can say what doest thou? Now come to consideration and let thy heart be more upright before Him. Choose his way and counsel, that He may bless thee, and seek his face that thy soul may be satisfied by his word, and the milk of the word may nourish thee unto life immortal. Mind his pure presence, which is life, even God with thee, Christ the Emmanuel, to dwell with and walk in thee, which is the promise of the Father.

"First come to the principle of God, and feel the Word of God in thy heart, that will beat down the nature into which temptations enter. The word will bring thee to war against and overcome all thy enemies, which would



defile or betray thee. It will bring thee to know a birth immortal in thee, a crown immortal received from God, that dies not nor fades away. Then He who rules over heaven and earth will be thy shepherd to feed thee, thy teacher to guide thee; thy counsellor to direct thee in all things. Thy immortal soul will be satisfied with the bread that cometh down from heaven; the covenant of God and the sure mercies of David, will be revealed and his promise be fulfilled in thee."

He then tells him what need he has of the wisdom of God; entreating him to remove oppression, and warns him to take heed of the teachers, who flatter, and yet hatch mischief against him; and also of the magistrates into whom great corruption had entered. He thus concludes: "Be thou faithful in what the Lord calleth thee to, and thou shalt have thy reward. Seek his honor and He will honor thee. Let thy mind be to the Lord in all things, and feel his word, power and presence in thee, to quench all that is contrary, then thou wilt be blessed in this life, and in the life to come; but if thou continuest in oppression the Lord will suddenly smite thee."

Oliver was too busy with his own schemes of family aggrandisement, to care much what persecution fell upon the Quakers, and the hands of the oppressing magistrates and persecuting priests were not staid. Soon after this he sickened, and great anxiety reigned throughout England as the tidings spread abroad, that it was likely to prove his last illness. Some of the fanatical preachers concluded he should not die, and very absurd petitions and remonstrances to the Most High were made by them.

On the 3rd of the Seventh Month Oliver Cromwell died, and outward lamentation and inward mourning were that

day felt amongst many, whilst secret joy was indulged by not a few.

Oliver had named his son Richard to be his successor, and he was proclaimed Protector on the 6th of the month.

A few days after this, Edward Burrough addressed a letter to Richard Cromwell, chosen to be Protector, &c., of these nations; and speaking of the rulers, he saith thus:

“As for magistracy, it was ordained of God to be a dread and terror, and limit to evil-doers, and to be a defense and praise to all that do well; to condemn the guilty, and to justify the guiltless. But the exercise thereof at this day in these nations, is degenerated, and some that are in authority are greatly corrupted, and regard not the just and pure law of God, to judge only thereby; but oppress the poor by injustice, and subvert the good laws of God and men to a wrong end and use, abusing authority, and turning the sword against the just. Hereby true judgment is turned backward, and the innocent made unjustly to suffer for righteousness sake, through the corruption of men in authority; and didst thou but know what we know in this particular, it would pierce thy heart.

“It is frequent among some of the judges and magistrates, to commit a man to prison, and impose some great fine upon him, and to cast him into a dungeon, or hole, among thieves and murderers, for a long season; for no other offence, or breach of any law, but because he cannot put off his hat to them, and respect their persons, by the hat or bowing the knee: many others also that fear God, and for conscience sake cannot swear upon a book, by kissing it, and laying hands upon it, because Christ

saith, "Swear not at all;" though they deny not to speak and do the truth in all things, as in the presence of God and all men; and many others, because they are moved to cry against sin, and declare against the iniquities of the times, in teachers, rulers and people, that highly abound; perhaps in a market or steeple-house, or highway, or other places, as they are moved of God; others, because for conscience sake they cannot pay tithes, nor give money and wages to maintain a priest, or false teacher that they receive no profit by; or to maintain a steeple-house, where the world worships in vain traditions, and not in the spirit and power of God: many have been taken out of peaceable meetings, where they were waiting upon the Lord; and some out of their inns and friends' houses; and many have been taken on the way, travelling about their lawful occasions; and some from their callings and labors. For these causes through the envy of wicked men, and without any just conviction of the breach of any law, or any lawful trial or examination, have hundreds of just men, being wholly innocent, been sent to prison, and lain many months, and some for years; or whipped, or put into the stocks, and grievously abused by cruel executioners of wicked men's envy or injustice. And upon such grounds only, and for such causes mentioned, and without the transgression of any just law, have and do at this day, many hundreds of faithful subjects suffer hard and cruel things, long and sore imprisonment, and cruel and sharp whipping and stocking, and unjust banishment out of towns and cities; yea, friend, it is hard to be expressed, and large to be declared, how many of the Lord's servants do, and have suffered great injustice in these nations, through the abuse of good government, and degeneration of magistracy from its perfect

state and place, whereunto it was ordained of God in the beginning, &c."

In this year he wrote a short statement of the principles of the religious society of which he was a member, as follows, viz:

A DECLARATION TO ALL THE WORLD OF OUR FAITH;
AND WHAT WE BELIEVE, WHO ARE CALLED QUAKERS.
CONCERNING GOD, CHRIST, AND THE SPIRIT, THUS WE
BELIEVE.

FIRST, That there is only one true God, who is a spirit; and his presence filleth heaven and earth; and He is eternal and everlasting, the Creator and preserver of all things; that heaven and earth, and all things therein by Him were framed and brought forth; and all things remain unto this day by his power; and whatsoever He willet in heaven and earth, He brings to pass by his word and power.

And we believe, That this God only is and ought, to be feared, loved, obeyed and worshipped by all creatures; and no other thing besides Him in heaven and earth.

And we believe, That his worship and obedience, and fear and love is to be given in spirit, even in what his own spirit moveth and leadeth his people unto.

And we believe, His true worship, required and accepted of Him, is not by the tradition of men in outward observances, or set days, or places; but He is worshipped only in spirit and truth, without respect of time, places, or things; and that none can worship Him in righteousness, but his children, who are born of his spirit, and are led and guided thereby.

And we believe, That this God hath given his Son Christ Jesus into the world, a free gift unto the whole

world; and that every man that cometh into the world is lighted by Him, that every man might believe and be saved.

And we believe, That He is given into the world, and no nation, country or people excepted; but unto all mankind is He given of God, and hath lightened them, and every man through the world, that believeth in Him, and receiveth Christ, who is the wisdom and power of the Father, shall be saved with eternal salvation; and every one that believeth not in Him, shall be damned, and shall possess everlasting misery.

And we believe, That salvation, justification and sanctification, are only in Him, and wrought by Him, and no other: for there is no other name given under heaven, but Him alone, by which salvation is.

And we believe, All that receive Him, and believe in Him, are reconciled to God, and are made alive to God, to live to Him in all things, and do receive the forgiveness of sins, and are set free from all unrighteousness, and from the body of sin and death, and have the witness of the spirit in them. The spirit of the Father they have received, and it witnesseth in them of the Father and of the Son, and of the things that belong unto their peace. It is the earnest of the inheritance, and the seal of the promise of eternal life, and by it are the deep things of God revealed to mankind, and by it the Father and the Son dwell in the saints, and by it have they fellowship one with another; and the Father, Son, and Spirit are one. And this we faithfully believe.

Again, concerning Christ, we believe, That He is one with the Father, and was with Him before the world was; and what the Father worketh it is by the Son; for He is the arm of God's salvation, and the very power and wis-

dom of the Creator; and was, is, and is to come, without beginning or end.

And we believe, That all the prophets gave testimony of Him, and that He was made manifest in Judea and Jerusalem, and did the work of the Father, and was persecuted of the Jews, and was crucified by his enemies; and that He was buried, and rose again, according to the Scriptures.

And we believe, He is now ascended on high, and exalted at the right hand of the Father for evermore; and that He is glorified with the same glory that He had before the world was; and that even the same that came down from heaven, is ascended up to heaven; and the same that descended is He that ascended.

And we believe, Even that He that was dead is alive, and lives for evermore; and that He cometh, and shall come again, to judge the whole world with righteousness, and all people with equity, and shall give to every man according to his deeds, at the day of judgment, when all shall arise to condemnation or justification; he that hath done good shall receive life, and he that hath done evil, everlasting condemnation.

And we believe, He is to be waited for in spirit, to be known after the spirit, as He was before the world was. This is the knowledge unto eternal life, which all that believe in Him do receive; and He subdues death, and destroys him that hath the power of it; and restoreth from death to life, and quickeneth by his spirit all that the Father hath given him. We believe such He justifieth and sanctifieth, and such are taught of Him; but He condemns all that believe not, but continue in unbelief, and are not taught of Him. And this we faithfully believe.

And we believe, That unto all people upon the face of

the whole earth, is a time and day of visitation given, that they may return and be saved by Christ Jesus, who is given of the Father to call the worst of men to repentance; and the most ungodly of sinners are convinced by Him of their ungodly deeds, that they might believe, and be converted and saved.

And we believe, Herein is the love of God manifested to all mankind; and that none are shut out by Him before they were born into the world; but unto all men is a visitation given. They that do perish, it is because they do not believe in Christ; and his destruction is of a man's self, but salvation is of God, through believing in his Son, who takes away sin, and reneweth into his own image, that they may become heirs with Him.

And we believe, That there is a crown of eternal glory and an inheritance of eternal life to be enjoyed for evermore by all that believe and are chosen of God; and that there is an everlasting misery and destruction to be possessed by all that believe not, but continue in the state of reprobation, and are not changed from the ways of sin and death; but walk after the ways of their own hearts' lusts, fulfilling the will of the flesh, in the evil of this world, and follow not Christ, the light of the world, that they may be saved. And we believe upon all such the wrath of God abideth, and that they have no part in the inheritance of God.

And we believe, That it is only he that is born again of the spirit, and that walks after the spirit, who is changed from death to life, and who is redeemed out of the world, and all its ways; that must inherit the kingdom of God. They only have a right thereunto, and none besides, even they that are washed and cleansed from all unrighteousness by the blood of Jesus, by which their sins are re-

mitted. For his blood cleanseth from all unrighteousness and sin ; yea, all such that walk and abide in the light, which Christ Jesus hath lightened the world withal.

And we believe, That the saints upon earth may receive forgiveness of sins ; and may be perfectly freed from the body of sin and death, and in Christ may be perfect and without sin, and may have victory over all temptations, by faith in Christ Jesus.

And we believe, Every saint that is called of God ought to press after perfection, and to overcome the devil and all his temptations upon earth. We believe they that faithfully wait for it shall obtain it, and shall be presented without sin in the image of the Father. Such walk not after the flesh, but after the spirit, and are in covenant with God, and their sins are blotted out, and remembered no more ; for they cease to commit sin, being born of the seed of God.

And we believe, The Gospel of Christ is the power of God unto salvation, and that it ought to be preached freely unto people, and Christ to be held forth unto all mankind, by the ministry sent of Him. We believe this ministry is received by the gift of the Holy Ghost ; and all they that receive it, are lawfully called to the ministry ; and they may preach the Gospel of Christ freely, as they have received it freely. And this ministry is not of man, but of God, and is made powerful to the converting of sinners, and to the bringing of people to God, and to the knowledge of his ways. We do not believe that any man is a minister of Christ, without the gift of the Holy Ghost ; or that the Gospel can be received by natural learning or education.

And we believe, Such as preach for hire, and have hire for preaching, are not the lawfully called ministers of the

Gospel of Christ ; such as are proud and high-minded, and covetous men, who do not profit the people at all ; such as have run, and never were sent of Christ, who calleth by his spirit into the work of the ministry ; and as every one hath received the gift of that, his spirit, so he may administer to others.

Concerning rulers and governors, we believe, That there ought to be rulers and governors in every nation, city, country and town. They ought to be such men as fear God and hate every evil way ; who will judge for God, and not for man ; and will judge righteously, equally and justly, and will give true and sound judgment unto all men, without bribery, or respect of persons, not regarding the rich above the poor ; but being a praise unto all that do well, and a terror to all evil-doers whatsoever ; having knowledge in the pure law of God, and themselves continually exercised therein. We believe, that every law of man ought to be grounded upon the law of God ; pure reason and equity being the foundation thereof, that God's witness in every man may answer to it. The law ought to be known unto all people, before transgression be charged or punished in any man.

We believe, That every transgression ought to be punished according to its nature ; and that the punishment exceed not the greatness of the transgression ; neither ought any transgressor to escape unpunished ; neither ought any upon false suspicion or jealousies to be caused to suffer, without the testimony of true men, or the confession of the party. We believe, that the executors of the law ought to be just men, and not given to pride, drunkenness, or any other evil whatsoever. They ought to be chosen every year, or otherwise, by the consent of

the people ; and that no man be stopped of his free choice, except justly taxed.

We believe, That all governors and rulers ought to be accountable to the people, and to the next succeeding rulers, for all their actions, which may be inquired into upon occasion ; and that the chiefest of the rulers be subject under the law, and punishable by it, if they be transgressors, as well as the poorest of the people. Thus true judgment and justice will be brought forth in the earth, and all that do well will have praise, and live in rest and peace ; and all evil doers whatsoever may stand in awe, and be afraid of God, and just men, and the execution of just laws.

Concerning religion, we believe, That it is only the spirit of the Lord that makes men truly religious. That no man ought to be compelled to, or from, any exercise or practice in religion, by any outward law or power ; but every man ought to be left free, as the Lord shall persuade his own mind, in doing, or leaving undone this or the other practice in religion. Every man, of what profession in religion soever, ought to be protected in peace, provided himself be a man of peace, not seeking the wrong of any man's person or estate.

We believe, That to oppose false opinions, and unsound doctrines and principles, seeking to convince them that oppose themselves, by exhortation, or sharp reproof, by word or writing, ought not to be counted a breach of the peace ; or to strive about the things of the kingdom of God, by men of contrary minds or judgments. This ought not to be punishable by the magistrates and their laws. For we believe, the outward laws and powers of the earth are only to preserve men's persons and estates, and not to preserve men in opinions. Neither ought the

law of the nation to be laid upon men's consciences, to bind them to, or from, such a judgment or practice in religion. We believe that Christ is, and ought only to be, Lord and exerciser of men's consciences; and his spirit only must lead into all truth.

And we believe, That obedience and subjection in the Lord belongs to superiors, and that subjects ought to obey in the Lord those that have rule over them. That children ought to obey their parents, and wives their husbands, and servants their masters, in all things which are according to God, which stand in the exercise of a pure conscience towards God. But where rulers, parents, or masters, or any other, command or require subjection in anything which is contrary to God, or not according to Him, in such cases all people are free, and ought to obey God rather than man. We believe, that herein God will justify them, being guided and led by his spirit in all that is good, and out of all that is evil.

Again, We believe concerning election and reprobation, That there is a state of election, and a state of reprobation, a state chosen of God, and a state rejected of God, and that all mankind are in one of these states. All that are elected, are elected in Christ; and all that are out of Him are in the reprobate state, bringing forth fruits of death and darkness, being children of wrath and disobedience, in the alienation and separation from God. They are in the transgression, unreconciled to God, the enmity ruling in the heart, being in the fall, and not restored to God again, but ignorant of his power, and of his wisdom, having the understanding darkened, that they cannot see nor perceive the things that are eternal.

In this condition man's best works are sin, and whatsoever he doeth, he cannot be accepted of God; for he is

dead to God, and alive to all evil, bringing forth all his works out of that ground which is cursed. This is the condition of all mankind upon the face of the earth, in the first Adam, and this is the state of reprobation; and all that abide herein are rejected of God, and shall never inherit eternal life, but go into perdition.

Yet have all such a day of visitation, that they may return out of the state of reprobation; but hating knowledge, and despising the love of God, they continue in the reprobate state, and the wrath of God abides upon them. But they that are chosen of God, are delivered from wrath; for they believe in the light, and become children of the light, and are renewed in mind and heart, and receive the love of the Father, and become planted into Christ, the second Adam. They are chosen in Him to bring forth fruit unto the Father, and all their fruit springeth from that ground which is blessed. For they are led by the spirit of the Father; and such are in the state of election, who are made heirs with Christ of the everlasting inheritance, that never fades away. And this we faithfully believe, That mercy is not showed to the reprobate, nor judgment to them that are chosen of God.

EDWARD BURROUGH.

On the 22nd of the Ninth Month, Edward Burrough was at Kingston; on the 23rd, as he was entering London, at Charing Cross, he beheld a great multitude of people pressing upon one another exceedingly. Which ever way he looked, the whole streets were filled, every window was crowded, and balconies and house tops were thronged. He could not well pass through such a crowd; and guards of soldiers, both foot and horse were on duty there, who stopped his horse and told him he

must not pass that way. Tarrying but a short time he turned about and passed away, wondering what this great stir meant, and what it was which occasioned such excitement in the spirits of the people, as plainly appeared. He says, "I felt the spirits of men, women and children were all on fire." Although living in London, and laboring abundantly in his own vocation there, he appears to have had no notice of these pompous preparations for the funeral of Oliver Cromwell, of whom an image was to be carried along in view of the multitude. This was the day of the funeral, and this crowd was gathered to see it pass.

As Edward went on he turned his mind inward, seeking to know of the Lord "what this thing might be, what might be the end of it, and why was this gathering and running, and thronging of multitudes in this manner. Presently I perceived [says he,] that an image, an invented picture would be carried that way; and that all this pressing and stir, and the gathering of this great multitude, was only to see an image without life or breath. Then my spirit was grieved and my soul was vexed within me; and it ran through me, vanity, folly and madness. What is all this setting of guards, gathering of people in such thronging multitudes, and gazing of men, women and children, high and low, rich and poor, that are come together? Is all this but to see a dead invented image of wood or wax arrayed and decked with some foolish inventions?"

The idea of a carved or moulded representation of Cromwell being carried at his funeral, reminded Edward of the time when Oliver and his soldiers found pleasant work in the old parish steeple-houses, the rich cathedrals, whenever and wherever they were to be found, in break-

ing up and destroying carved images, crosses and other relics of popery. Hereupon Edward began, as he tells us, in "a testimony against a great idolatry committed," to talk to himself on this matter. He said, "I knew the man, when he was living, and had a knowledge of his spirit; and I am persuaded if it had been asked him in his lifetime, if such should be acted about him, such an image made like him, and laid for so long time in a sumptuous place and manner, and then carried by his friends, and children, kindred and army, I think he would have said: 'nay! What! make an image of me, and deck it diversely, and visit it; and then carry it up and down from place to place! This will be a shame to my children, a disgrace to my kindred, a reproach to my officers, and the whole army. The nation will mock and be offended, and may say, these are they that were once enemies to all images and dead idols, and pulled them down and brake them. Are these now making an image, and setting it up, wondering after it from place to place? If thus it be done, they at Rome may laugh us to scorn, and the papists may say, we have learned of them, put their persons from among us, banished and killed them, and set up their practices.' Sure he would have said this. I am certain the witness of God in his conscience might truly have said it."

In the Tenth Month Edward addressed the following to Richard Cromwell and his council:

TO THE PROTECTOR AND HIS COUNCIL.

"The Lord God will shortly make you know that we are his people; though we be accounted as sheep for the slaughter, yet our King of righteousness will break you to pieces, if you harden your hearts, and repent not. And

though that love will not draw you, neither the gentle leadings of our God have any place in you, yet judgments shall awaken you, and his heavy hand of indignation shall lie upon your consciences, and you will be scattered and distracted to pieces.

EDWARD BURROUGH."

In this year he also wrote the following, viz :

A SECOND GENERAL EPISTLE TO ALL THE SAINTS.

A servant of the Lord and minister of Jesus Christ, thereunto ordained and called through the powerful operation and gift of the Holy Ghost, unto all his brethren in the same life, who are born of God, and witnesses of his power; and unto all the saints and churches of Christ, who have believed and received the sure and faithful testimony, and are called with the heavenly call, to follow the Lamb whithersoever He goes; who is given to you, and received of you, a light, a guide, and a teacher in all the ways of God. Unto you all that are scattered abroad in the world, whether in bonds or at liberty, whether strong men or children in Christ, I send greeting; and above all things desire and pray unto the Father, for your increase in the knowledge of Him, and faithfulness in all his ways, and that the increase of his government may abound among you; and that grace, mercy and peace may be plentifully enlarged, that nothing may be lacking to you in anything of that which maketh perfect; but that in Christ Jesus you may be complete, and through Him you may receive power, and thereby be strengthened to do all things.

My dearly beloved and longed for, in the fellowship of that spirit which hath begotten you to be sons and

daughters of one Father, and heirs and fellow-members of that inheritance of life, peace and rest, which abideth forever. Oh, how I long to meet you all in this, and to find you perfectly settled and established upon the sure foundation, which God hath laid amongst you, beyond all doubts, and fears and stumblings, above the world and all its temptations, and above hell and death, and all the ways thereof, having all the powers of darkness subjected under you, serving the Lord in perfect holiness, walking in his strength and wisdom, showing forth his light in the world, as his redeemed people.

My desire is more and more kindled and enlarged towards you all, that you may perfectly attain to the knowledge of the great mystery of salvation, to wit, God dwelling in you! I say, my desire is, that you may know even as you are known, and that you may receive Him as you are received of Him; and that you may be a perfect body, growing up together, and springing forth in all good fruits of truth and righteousness unto the Father, who is glorified through your bringing forth much fruit. You very well know, that for this end He hath called you, and in this his appointed day caused his glory to shine forth, and hath visited and brought us to the knowledge of the hidden mystery of eternal salvation, which mystery hath been sealed up for many ages, and is kept secret forever, from the wisdom of this world.

But unto us that have believed in the light of the world is it clearly discovered, as at noon-day; being revealed to us by the spirit which worketh in us the will and mind of the Father, and is powerful and mighty, and subdueth and breaketh down the hardness of heart, and through the working thereof every high thought is brought into subjection to Jesus.

This same spirit quickeneth and maketh alive to God, and changeth and reneweth into his image and likeness, and raiseth up from under the bondage of corruption, to live to God in all things in newness of life, old things being done away, and all things being made new through the working thereof. In this same spirit is the Father alone worshipped, and by it God is known; and his promise is fulfilled, it witnessing in all things unto the Father, and is the earnest of the inheritance which fadeth not away. By it know we the deep things of God, which the world by wisdom knoweth not; and thereby are we sealed and bound up in covenant with the Father. This is known to you that are children of the light, and hereof you have the witness in yourselves, and of God you are approved, and not of men.

And all ye my brethren, who are called into the work and ministry of the Gospel, unto whom the word of the Lord is come, and the Gospel of Christ to you committed; dwell in the life of God, and feel his power and authority. Live in the same life of which you minister to others, that you may bring people to God, and may effectually turn them from the dominion of sin unto the dominion of Christ Jesus, that people may be guided out of darkness into the marvellous light. Cry aloud, spare not, proclaim the mighty day of the Lord in all the earth; and fear ye not, neither be ye dismayed at the face of any man, but be bold and valiant for the truth upon earth, and give your testimony as you have received from God.

Preach Christ Jesus the light of the world unto all people, that they may receive Him, and be converted, and live. For blindness and darkness have covered the whole earth, and all have gone astray from the Lord, as sheep without a shepherd. Therefore awake ye them that sleep,

and cause the deaf to hear, and the dead to rise, that such as have strayed may be gathered. For this is the fulness of time ; He is now seeking his sheep that have been lost, and bringing them home that have strayed ; and you, as instruments in the Lord's hand, hath He chosen to this work.

Therefore go on in the strength of the Lord, and preach the Gospel of peace, even the power of God, that sinners may be converted, and the wounded healed, and the weak may be strengthened, and they that are ready to die may be restored to life and salvation. This is the work of the Lord, whereunto you are called ; therefore all who are called unto it, be faithful unto the end, and not only by word, but by life and conversation also, hold forth the way of life. For you must feel that in yourselves, of which you minister to others ; and you must hold forth in life, the same which you minister in words ; and thereby shall you be made manifest to that of God in all people, and God's testimony shall answer for you. See that in all things you divide God's word aright, not crying peace to the wicked, nor healing up the wound falsely ; but that true judgment in all things may be brought forth by you to all people ; judgment to the fat, and bread to the hungry. They that are naked must be clothed, and they that are falsely covered must be made bare.

Improve the gift which God hath given you, to Him only, and not unto yourselves. Be not hasty to utter words before the Lord, but wait for power from on high, that the way of God unto salvation, may be faithfully and truly held forth by you unto all people. Faint not, though your burdens and trials be many, but bear all things patiently. Love not your lives unto death, that the good work of the Lord may be accomplished, which He hath begun by us,

and made prosperous and powerful in our hands unto this very day.

Our cause is good. We seek truth and righteousness, that it may be established in the earth, and people may be brought unto God. Unto this God hath called us, and hath owned us in it, and will never forsake us; for the work is his, and the power is his, and whatsoever He will, He bringeth to pass; and therefore why should we doubt, or be weary? For we shall see the travail of our souls. The scattered shall be gathered, and a remnant of the seed shall be brought in, which is scattered in every nation, as dry bones, unable to live. How shall we hide that treasure which God hath given us, from them that perish for want thereof? Or, how shall we rest satisfied till the scattered sheep be brought home to the fold? Our hearts are troubled to see so many thousand walking in thick darkness, and to see the seed of Israel devoured by the destroyer.

Therefore my brethren, let us put on strength, the Lord is with us; let us make war in righteousness for the Lord, against all the powers of darkness. Let us continually be armed to do and to suffer all things for the name of the Lord, that people may be instructed in the right way. We know no man can have power over us, but what is given him from above, and all that comes to pass against us is not worthy to be compared with the crown of glory, and that inheritance of which we have already received the earnest, and had sealed with the spirit of promise. The Father's name is written upon us; therefore in all things unto which He hath called you, be faithful and obedient, that his work may be accomplished.

And all ye children and babes in Christ, that are begotten of God, and are thirsting and seeking after Him in

truth and righteousness, He whom ye seek is coming to reign amongst you, and his dominion shall be set up and enlarged, and the desire of your hearts shall be fulfilled. Righteousness and truth shall meet in one, and judgment and mercy shall be exalted. Wait upon the Lord, and feel his power and his presence continually, that you may grow as plants of righteousness, and may partake of the heirship with Christ, being crucified to the world, and become dead to all its ways, and no more you to live, but Christ to live in you.

Through the light which He hath enlightened you withal, hath He given you an entrance into the inheritance of the Father. As you walk in the light, you grow into fellowship with the Father, and with the Son. Abiding in the Son you cannot sin; for He keeps you from the wicked one, and he hath no power over you that abide in Christ, who is the power of God, and the salvation of all that believe, and a condemnation of all that believe not. Therefore all you that are convinced everywhere, hearken to the voice of the Lord, that your souls may live. Mind the power of God, and the workings thereof in your hearts, which conquereth hell and death, and subdueth all the powers and ways thereof.

Every one be obedient to the Lord, as children of one Father, that of his fulness you may receive, and be filled therewith. Meet together in every place; and as the day approacheth exhort one another, that you may grow up in unity as members of one head. Mind always the testimony of truth, and walk therein, and you cannot stumble. Have not respect to persons, but to the truth only; for persons may change, but the truth abides forever. So let not an evil eye look at evil, when it comes to pass, to take occasion thereby against the truth; for

then you stumble and fall. I say again, have respect only to the pure testimony of truth which is sure, and cannot err or alter, though man may change and err. That is the testimony which is held forth for salvation, even the testimony of God, with whom there is no shadow of turning.

Therefore all take heed unto yourselves, that you give not, nor receive, any offence against the Lord, and against your own souls; but know the seed of God in which stands the election, where the covenant of God is sure, and unalterable. A birth you must all know to be brought forth in you, which must inherit, and that is it which is born of the spirit, and doth obtain the promise. It is not that birth which is of the flesh, which works by willing, and running, and thinking. That obtains not the promise of God, neither is salvation showed unto it, but in patience, and in long suffering is the victory received, over all the powers of darkness which make war against the kingdom of God.

So all Friends, dwell in that which stops and limits all strife in the mind, and gives you victory over it. None must glory in the flesh, for that glory must be confounded; but let him that glories, glory in the Lord, in the spirit, and not in the flesh. And take heed that none of you abuse your liberty, which is in Christ Jesus, neither turn it into fleshly bondage, and thereby the just come to suffer, and the fleshly part come to rule above the seed of God; but dwell in the cross which suppresseth every high thought, and whatsoever is against God, in the first motion. Thereby you will be preserved from the enemy, which watcheth for evil against you, and seeks occasion against the way of the Lord. Mind that which keeps you pure; for it is the pure in heart that see God, and it is he that is

of clean hands and of a pure heart, that inherits God's holy mountain.

And as concerning your afflictions, and sufferings, and trials, and persecutions; and whatsoever is laid upon you by the Lord, or by men; I say, bear all things patiently, and endure all things in long suffering. These things are but for a moment, and they are not worthy to be compared with the price of God's inheritance; and if you dwell in the counsel of the Lord, all these things will be turned unto your good. In all trials and sufferings, the Lord's arm will be revealed, and these things must come to pass, that truth may appear in its beauty, in victory over all that doth oppose it. Vengeance is the Lord's, and He will repay; for He doth inquire after our blood, though no man layeth it to heart, or consider the cause or unjust sufferings of the innocent, who are become a prey to the ungodly and unjust men, till God arise to plead our cause. Afflictions and sufferings are but to try and prove.

They are not to confound or destroy the Lord's people, and therefore in patience they must be borne, and the life of God felt, which gives dominion over all these things. And receiving all things as from the hand of the Lord, then in all things your peace will remain, and God's testimony will witness peace and acceptance with God.

And of all injustice, and abuses and cruelty acted upon you by any, at any time, keep account of it, and draw up in short and plain words, the occasion and manner of it, and at every quarter sessions let a true declaration of all unjust sufferings be presented in prudence and singleness of heart to the justices, or grand jury, by such as are wise and faithful. Appeal to the witness of God in them in such cases, that that of God in all men may witness for us. Let this be done, as cause is seen, at every sessions,

in the wisdom and authority of God, that in all things justice and true judgment may be sought after, and in patience waited for, till the Lord alone, our King, and Judge, and Lawgiver, comes to reign over all his enemies; when all that now suffer for Him, shall reign with Him.

A servant to the churches of Christ,

EDWARD BURROUGH.

CHAPTER VIII.

ON the 18th day of the First Month 1659, whilst passing through Warwickshire, Edward Burrough fell into deep meditation on the sufferings and wrongs which his brethren in religious profession, were at that time enduring in England. Whilst thus engaged, he says: a cry ran through him, "The Lord will be avenged! the Lord will be avenged upon his enemies! He will avenge the cause of his people." The feeling which accompanied this opening was such, as to seal on his mind an assurance of its truth. He meditated upon it for a time, and the remembrance of the unjust and grievous persecutions which the infant society was undergoing, awakened a sympathetic feeling, so that his heart was much tendered and broken. Whilst in this state, he received this command: "Write unto the rulers, and yet once more warn them of that recompense, and of that indignation, which is at hand upon them, even a just recompense for all their deeds; and as they have done, even so shall it be done to them; as they have sought to destroy the generation of the righteous, even so shall they be destroyed from off the face of the earth; and as they have unjustly judged and condemned the innocent, so shall they be condemned, and

justly judged of the Lord; and as they have cast the bodies of the poor lambs of Christ into prison, and been a snare upon them, even so shall they be ensnared, and into captivity shall they go. And as they have caused the goods and possessions of the innocent to be spoiled, and made a prey, even so in like manner shall the curse of the Lord spoil their substance. And as they have done, so shall it be done unto them; and as they have meted to others, so shall it be meted to them again." "And I saw a great misery and desolation nigh at hand, even the sword of the Lord; and that it should slay them; and I beheld it was made ready for the slaughter; and in the sense of these things a sadness fell upon my spirit, considering the desolation and the judgment that is at hand, to be executed upon the cruel oppressors."

Edward Burrough's prediction of trouble to the then rulers in England, was amply fulfilled when under Charles the Second, the late persecutors were persecuted in their turn; when Episcopal priests drove Presbyterian and Independent preachers from the parish steeple-houses; when the judges of King Charles the First were put to death, and fear and terror caused the chief leaders in the late commonwealth to hide in secret places, or to flee the country.

Passing on into Somersetshire, he had a meeting at Glastonbury, at the Market Cross. To this came Samuel Winney, the priest of the parish, attended by a band of drunken men with a drum. The priest addressed himself to Edward, and demanded by what authority he came there to preach? He received a prompt answer, couched in the Scripture language, "As every man hath received the gift, even so minister the same one to another, as good stewards of the manifold grace of God."

Edward then returning the query to him who put it forth, asked him to prove his call to the ministry from Scripture. This question Winney was not pleased to hear, and did not feel prepared to answer; so he retired from the field of contest, leaving his drunken followers to dispute for him. This they did after their manner, by beating on the drum, by hallooing with strong lungs, and by knocking the Friends about in a rude and barbarous manner.

Leaving Somersetshire, Edward returned towards the eastern part of England, and soon felt a religious obligation to go over to Dunkirk, on the French coast, a town at that time in possession of the English. For many days he says, it appeared to be his duty to "visit and warn the papists, the jesuits, friars, and that whole company of idolaters," and "to sound the mighty day of the Lord among them." He went to Dover, and being accompanied by Samuel Fisher, who felt a similar religious concern, took shipping on the 6th of Third Month, and reached Dunkirk on the 7th.

On arriving at this place, at which they were both strangers, "We waited in the will of the Lord," says he, "to be guided by his wisdom what to do, and how to act and speak to his glory." The next day as they were walking the streets, the mayor of the place came to them, and demanded their names, and the business which had brought them there. To these questions the Friends gave "sober answers, and a reasonable account." It was soon known throughout the town, that two Quakers had arrived, and much curiosity was felt by the inhabitants, as to the occasion of their coming. The deputy governor Alsop, with his council of officers sent for them, and conversed with them for some hours. The Friends were

treated kindly, but Alsop told them, "he thought there would be danger attending their stay in that place. He was fearful lest divisions and contentions should arise amongst the inhabitants, and the safety of the English garrison be brought into jeopardy." This result he probably thought would follow, if the principles and practices of the friars and jesuits should be openly and honestly assailed by the Friends, in that Roman Catholic city, the inhabitants of which were sunk in gross superstition. Alsop requested them to depart from the place. In reply, they frankly told him, that as they apprehended they had been divinely led there, they could not obey his command to depart, until they felt Him to lead them away, who they believed had sent them thither. Some preachers were present at this interview, probably army chaplains. One of them wished to enter into a public dispute with the Friends, on the call to the ministry, but the want of time, and the challenger's want of patience, prevented the discussion of the matter, although Edward much desired it.

On the 11th of the month, the two visitors addressed a letter to the deputy-governor and his officers, in which they call themselves, "travellers in the labor of the Gospel of Christ Jesus." They say they came to Dunkirk "to be made manifest openly in the sight of all men, in our doctrines, principles and practices, which are of, and from the Lord, and fully agreeing in all things with the Scriptures of Truth, which were given forth by the Spirit of Truth, as the holy men of God were moved." They add, that they came there in love to the souls of the people, and principally, as far as the Lord had shown them, "to discourse with the jesuits, friars and priests, and to discover to them the errors of their ways, and the falseness of their worship; and to testify unto them, in

the fear and power of the Lord, concerning their church, that it is not a true church of Christ, but a false church, come up in the apostacy."

They further say, they did not come to cause grief or disturbance to any; but add, "we dare not promise to you, nor ourselves, what we will do, or what we will not do; only this we say, if the transgression of any just law can be charged upon us, we refuse not to suffer what shall be imposed; and this we do believe, that the Lord will so help us, and order us by his Spirit of Truth, and carry us in meekness and righteousness towards you, while we stay amongst you, be it weeks or months; that you will have no just occasion against us, by any offence ministered by us." They add, that if any offence is taken by the unthinking, without just occasion given, the shame and condemnation will be on those who take the offence.

"We do give unto the Lord, and cannot unto men, the exercise of our consciences," say they, "to be obedient unto the teachings of his Spirit in all things. If He commands to do, or not to do anything, and you the contrary, we must obey Him, though we disobey you, for it is better to obey God than man. When He bids speak, in what place or season soever, we may not be silent, for to keep our consciences clear in the sight of God in all things, by obedience to Him, is our care and study. No other promise can we make for ourselves, but to do and speak amongst you, as the Lord our God shall move us and lead us. And this testimony we do bear for the Lord, He doth not move us, nor lead us to do anything, saving to what is just, good, and holy, which may tend to the happiness and peace, and welfare of your souls and bodies also." In conclusion, the Friends offered to have a public dispute on the true call to the ministry, with the priest

who had spoken to them on that subject the evening before.

The same day they went to the convent of the capuchin friars, and in the garden belonging to the establishment, had a discourse with the chief man among them. The subject first spoken of was, the Light of Christ, wherewith all men coming into the world were enlightened. After this, Edward and his companion spoke to him of the mighty day of the Lord, when all would be searched and tried, and all popish idolatrous ways and worships would be destroyed. The next day, the 12th, Edward addressed a few queries to the capuchin friars. He wishes them to tell him "whether there was such an order of men and women as themselves, in the primitive church? Whether they can find authority from Jesus Christ for their worships, idleness and practices, unprofitableness to God and to man? Whether they are willing to have their religion tried by the Scriptures? And if they are not, whether any are bound to follow them? Whether the world in your hearts, and the world's nature, even the root of lust, the root of pride, covetousness, and the love of this world and its vanities, and the root of idolatry, are subdued in you? To the light in your consciences I speak. What is the root of all these things? And what is it that subdues it? Is it an outward abstinence by the force of locks and doors, and bolts, or self-separated and secret places, that subdue the world's nature in men and women? Is it by such means that Christ gives victory over sin, and overcomes it in his people? Or is it not by the power of God in the heart only?

"It doth not appear to me that you have denied the world as the apostles did. Where had they any such seats in the finest and fattest places of the cities and towns,

as ye have? Such great, fine houses and gardens and such revenues by the year as ye have, staying all their days in a great house, and spending their time in sloth and idleness as ye do? They went up and down the world preaching the Gospel, and had no certain dwelling place, but followed the Lamb of God in the spirit, and did not settle themselves in fat places of the earth, continuing all their days as ye do. Therefore we judge ye are out of the life, and not in the spirit the apostles were in, but in a form of righteousness and holiness, without the power."

He further desires to know of them, whether they have come to Christ Jesus in themselves? Whether they expect to be free from sin in this life? Whether they believe that men may come to be restored by the second Adam, into the same estate as was lost by the first Adam? In concluding he says: "If you be in the perfect truth, and would convert others to your religion, be plain with us and use your best spiritual weapons in your zeal towards us, and defend your cause, and appear for your God. If you doubt of your ways and practices, and be not able to defend your religion, then let your mouths be stopped, and turn from idolatry."

Whilst they remained in Dunkirk, they had various interviews with the capuchins, the friars of the recol-lects and with the jesuits. They called to visit the nuns, but these, after hearing a few words, interrupted them, to inquire whether they were of the order of those called Quakers. Receiving an affirmative answer, the nuns retreated from them, saying, they must not hear them. The capuchins were light and scornful, and soon growing tired of the Friends and the truths they promulgated, they declined giving them an opportunity of conversing with

them. The rector of the jesuits would not meet them, until Lockhart, the Governor of Dunkirk, who had been absent when the Friends arrived, had returned to that city. Lockhart spoke to the rector, and he then consented to see Edward and Samuel. He was subtle and crafty, and at first very high in spirit, apparently despising his opponents. But the truth in their mouths was too strong for him to contend against successfully; and after a discourse of three hours, he pretended that he had other business to attend to, and making his escape, refused to have any discourse with them afterwards.

On the 20th, Edward addressed to the jesuits, priests, and friars, a paper containing assertions to this effect :

1st. That the Romish church was not the true church of Christ.

2nd. That the constitution of the church, and the chief part of the forms of its worship and ordinances, were of man.

3rd. That there had been a general declension in the world, from true faith and doctrine, &c.

4th. That anti-christ had reigned for generations.

5th. That the true church was yet in the wilderness.

6th. That compelling persons by outward law to conform to certain religions, and to persecute and kill them for matter of conscience, was a worship of the beast.

7th. That none are members of the true church, but such as are changed and renewed by the power of the Lord God in the heart, and are joined to Christ the head.

8th. That the time is coming, when Babylon shall be thrown down.

Many meetings Edward and his companion had in the town, and much service in the English army, with very

little disturbance. Edward says: "I must commend the spirit of our Englishmen for moderation, more than the men of any other nation. I did many times clear my conscience among them, as they were men, sons of Adam; and in relation to an eternal state, did direct them to the way of happiness, out of sin and wickedness. That as they were sons of Adam in transgression, they might come to be healed, come unto Christ the power and wisdom of God, and might be saved."

Understanding that one of the chaplains had spoken against them, when they were not present, they proffered to discourse with him. He evaded the proposition, but told them that if they would state some of their principles in writing, he would answer them in dispute in some public place. In conformity to his request they prepared the following brief propositions:—

1st. That Christ hath enlightened all men with a light sufficient to bring them to salvation, if they follow it.

2nd. That God hath given Christ to be the Saviour of ALL men.

3rd. That none are justified by Christ and his righteousness, without them, but as they have received Christ and his righteousness, and witnessed them revealed in themselves.

4th. That the saints of God may be perfectly free from sin in this life, so as no more to commit it.

5th. That the national ministers and churches, not only of Papists, but of the Protestants also, as they now stand, are not true ministers and churches of Christ.

6th. That the Scriptures are a true declaration, given forth from the Spirit of God, by holy men of God, moved by it to write them, and are profitable; but are not the

foundation, nor the most perfect rule of faith and life to the saints.

These propositions the Friends tell the priest in an accompanying note, they are willing and desirous to discourse upon, with him and any others in a public place, "provided it may be in the spirit of meekness, and moderation, and that all fair and sober dealings may be amongst us, and the fear of God." The chaplain, it appears, did not wish to engage in a controversy with them, and endeavored to shift the responsibility of refusing it from his own shoulders, saying, "the governor was not willing."

Soon after the 20th, they took shipping for England, having performed at Dunkirk all the service their Divine Master laid upon them. Before the end of the month, they had a meeting at Sandwich, in Kent, in the parsonage house, where they met with George Fox and Ambrose Rigge, who were at this time holding meetings in that county. Edward and his companion held one also at Dover, in a great house, situated in the market place, belonging to Miles Temple, a captain of the town band. This was a good meeting, but when it was over the rabble set fire to the house in which it was held, intending to do the strangers an injury. The Lord preserved them, but the building was consumed. The two Friends then held a public dispute at the steeple-house, with William Russell, one of the priests. The dispute was principally managed by Edward Burrough, and it was satisfactory to the friends of Truth, who had reason to believe that it was the means of convincing some present. From thence Edward Burrough proceeded towards London, which he entered with George Fox on the 16th of Fourth Month.

A priest of Sussex having sent to a member of Parliament, a manuscript containing a number of railing accusations against the Society of Friends, with the design of secretly prejudicing their cause, and the paper coming to the knowledge of Edward Burrough, he wrote a reply, entitled: "Satan's design defeated," which is contained in his Works.

Richard Cromwell, in conformity with the wishes of the officers of the army, and against his own judgment, had dissolved the Parliament on the 22nd of the Second Month, and the political horizon in England began to give evident tokens of a change. He felt his power diminishing, and he had no mind through blood to build it up.

Edward Burrough had written an address to the Parliament just dissolved, exhorting them not to suffer "the exercise of pure consciences to be trodden down," "to remember the cause of God and of his people, to remember the groanings of the poor, and give ear to the cry of the oppressed, to relieve the guiltless sufferers, and break the bonds of iniquity, and let the oppressed go free. Do this lest ye perish."

In the Fifth Month, Edward Burrough delivered, or caused to be delivered, the following address to Richard Cromwell and his brother Henry, who now felt that their power and influence had departed from them.

TO R. C. AND H. C.

"Friends: Yet once more hath the Lord given me somewhat to say unto you, in love to your immortal souls. You had a glorious day of visitation, and many precious warnings from the mouth of the Lord, by his servants; but you rejected the counsel of the Lord against your own

souls, and made no account of the servants of the Lord, which were sent unto you ; but caused them, and suffered them to be persecuted by your power, and they were made a spoil and a prey to their enemies all your days.

“ You sought yourselves and your own honor, and you were exalted in pride and vain glory, and forgot God, who raised you up from a low estate, and you had no respect to the cause of his people. Therefore this is justly come to pass upon you from the hand of the Lord. Not that I rejoice in it, or glory over you because of it, only I tell you what is justly happened unto you, that ye may learn the Lord's just judgments in these things, like as formerly I warned you of it.

“ It could not be otherwise but that the Lord would avenge the cause of his people upon their persecutors, and the injustice done unto them, upon you, in whose name and power it was acted. In every generation He had respect unto his people's cause, and did avenge their cause in his season. This I well remember, I was once moved to speak in the name of the Lord unto your father, that these things that came to pass in his days, the cruelty and oppression of the Lord's people, would be recompensed and repented of in his children's days. I saw the cruelty and injustice that was done in his name upon the people of God, could not escape unpunished in a generation. It is now come to pass in a measure, and will be more and more, even for his transgressions and your own. All of you had a day and a time, wherein you might have done something for the Lord and his people. You had a price put into your hands, that you might have improved to the Lord's glory, and to your own renown, to have been a blessing unto yourselves, and to the people of God in these nations. But your day is over, and night is come

upon it. Your price is taken from you, and given to others, and you cannot now work or act on the Lord's behalf, as once you might have done. You have sought honor to yourselves, and you reap reproach. Because you have despised the counsel of the Lord, therefore the snare hath caught you, which was laid for others.

"These things I say in pity for you, rather than in boasting over you; neither do I commend that spirit which acteth in too much severity towards you, which upbraids you, rather than seeks to amend you. That is not my way. As for you, come unto the fear of the Lord God, that your iniquities may be pardoned; and seek peace with God, and reconciliation, and seek after the kingdom that endures forever. While ye have time, seek after a crown immortal, and wait to know that which will make you heirs of that inheritance which never fades away. The light in your consciences, which Christ had enlightened you with,—which lets you see sin, and convinceth you of your evil deeds,—that light must you own to be your teacher. You must become subject to it in all things or you have no part in the kingdom of God."

About this time Friends at Sabridgeworth, in Hertfordshire, were suffering much insult and abuse from the rude rabble, who were encouraged in their evil actions by Thomas Hewit, a magistrate known as a favorer of king Charles. The meetings of Friends for religious worship in that place, were much and frequently disturbed, brickbats were thrown amongst those assembled, to the endangering of life and limb, and filth was frequently cast upon them. The meeting-house was almost destroyed by the mob, and when an account of this outrage was made to the said Hewit, he ordered his servant to turn the com-

plainer out of his house. At one time he came as the captain of a company of volunteer disturbers, determined to stop Friends from entering their meeting-house, and it was not until he had had a smart brush with some of the Commonwealth soldiers that he and his party withdrew. The Tories now deemed that the signs of the times were favorable to the coming in of king Charles the Second, and they began to talk and to act boldly in many places.

Edward Burrough, about the close of the Sixth Month, being in Hertfordshire, attended the meeting at Sabridgeworth. Whilst going to it, he was much covered with dirt thrown upon him by the mob; and seeing Hewit just then passing in his coach, he went to him and complained to him as a magistrate of the abuse cast upon peaceable people in his jurisdiction. Whilst engaged in laying the matter before the squire, one of the rioters came near and jerked off his hat, and another threw a rotten egg on his bare head. This so pleased Hewit, that he could not forbear smiling, although his coach received some of the unsavory contents. One of the early Friends, after detailing the various acts of outrage committed on Friends, with the sanction and approbation of this magistrate, remarks: "He that disdains to be the servant of Christ, will stoop to a worse office."

From Hertfordshire, Edward returned to London. Here again he was full of business, laboring for the good of the religious society of which he was a member, and of every individual of it, as he found opportunity; preaching the Gospel as his Master gave him the word, and defending the doctrines of Truth with his pen. On the 12th of the Seventh Month, he addressed the Parliament then assembled—the Long Parliament having again come into power—in a communication characterized by great plainness.

It commences thus: "To the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, the present authority of these nations assembled at Westminster. A presentation, by a faithful friend to the nation, in the name, and by the Spirit of Jesus Christ, King of righteousness and peace; that you may take off oppression, and free the people from all their cruel bonds, that have been imposed upon their bodies, estates and consciences, in the days of the reign of anti-christ. That truth, justice and righteousness may come nigh unto us, and the kingdom of the Son of God be set up among us; that you and we, may at last be free subjects of Christ's kingdom, where righteousness, truth and peace may run down, and be established for evermore." He acknowledges that during the long time that Parliament had borne rule in England, many cruel laws had been made void, and the kingdom of anti-christ had received many a wound. "There have been divers times the fair blossoms of the glorious appearance of truth, righteousness and peace. There have been fair promises and pretences made by many of you, as if the kingdom of Jesus had been at our door, ready to have entered our nation, whereby many good hopes we had, to have been made a perfectly free people ere this day, from the chains of anti-christ, and the false church, and from every branch thereof. But, alas! the glorious work of reformation hath been interrupted before our eyes, and the precious buds and good appearance of glorious fruits have withered and been blasted in our sight. Our good hopes have perished, our freedom hath been intercepted through the evil doing of unfaithful men. Anti-christ's kingdom hath not been rooted out, nor the oppressive laws of the false church wholly broken down. The cause of this hath been from some unfaithful men, that have neglected the

good work of the Lord, once intrusted with them; and have sought themselves and their own honor, and interests, and have sitten down at ease and rest in the flesh, glorying in the spoil of their enemies, and have thereby become unfaithful and unprofitable in carrying on the Lord's work. Some have been of a sincere mind for a season, and made a good progress towards the attaining a kingdom of righteousness, and removing all oppressions; yet, when they have begun to seek themselves in this world, and to take unto themselves the honors, and titles, and possessions of their enemies, and so have been guilty of their enemies' sins, the good work of the Lord by them could not prosper." He then goes on to point out the yoke of tithes, and the forced maintenance of ministers, as some of the oppressions of anti-christ not yet abolished.

The long Parliament and the officers of the army could not agree, and many persons were in favor of a new Parliament; but Richard Cromwell had been removed from Whitehall, and with his brother Henry were now private men, and no power had been invested in any one to dissolve a Parliament. It seemed thefore impossible for a new election to take place, unless the body then sitting should vote themselves extinct, and make provision for the meeting of a new one. This they were not likely to do. The whole nation was agitated, and whether there was any supreme authority in England, and if there was, where it was to be found, was a matter of doubt and disputation. In the Ninth Month, Edward Burrough published an address, which he styled "A Message to the present rulers of England, whether Committee of Safety, so called, Councils of Officers, or others whatsoever." He had felt a concern to speak the substance of this to the

rulers but no way had opened for it, from which the following is taken :—

“ FRIENDS :

“ The late sundry overturnings in this nation may be examples to you, that you follow not the steps of those that God hath cast out, lest you come to the same end of confusion and misery. For, as concerning that assembly of men, that last sat on the throne, something was done by them in their day and time, and in both their assemblies, in some things they served my Lord, and they were a rod in his hand to smite his enemies. Yet they were not faithful to the end, till all his enemies were destroyed, but rather joined themselves to fight against the Lord and his people, and were hastening on towards the way of oppression and persecution. It was time for the Lord to remove them, and to lay them aside as an empty vessel, sometime useful ; and to break them as a rod, sometime of service to be a scourge upon his enemies.

“ And when the day of their trial was over, which God gave unto them, being no longer, at present, fit instruments for his hand, then he cast them into the fire. This his purpose came to pass upon them ; so that they and the whole nation may be contented, and yield themselves subject to what he hath done concerning them. For they entering into the very same spirit of wickedness, of oppression and persecution, which the Lord had once reprobved through them, and cast out by them ; then was a rod raised up against them, even as they had been against others, and they were dealt withal as they had done to others. This was in the justice of my Lord’s hand ; and what hath mortal man to question his proceedings.

“ And though some of you (present rulers), be looked

upon as great traitors and tyrants in your dealings towards them ; and doubtless the men of that party will seek vengeance against you, even by preaching and praying, and they will curse you in the name of their God, and seek continually your destruction, as such as have taken away part of their strength, and cast down their idol. But alas ! all this is nothing ; for the Lord doth not account as men ; for these things must needs thus come to pass, for the furtherance of the kingdom and government of Jesus Christ, that it may arise through all. If you were but faithful to what the Lord requires of you, in your proceedings, what you have done unto them should not be reckoned in account against you, neither by God, nor good men.

“ But if you of the army be always treacherous and disobedient towards Him, and abuse your power, and disregard your price that God hath given you, and trifle away your hour about places of honor, and such self-seeking matters, and the cause of God be neglected by you, and his people continued oppressed sufferers under you, as they have long been ; even then shall you be cast aside with shameful disgrace, and the heavy hand of the Lord shall be upon you in judgment. You shall be smitten more than any before you ; your estates shall not be spared from the spoiler, nor your souls from the pit, nor your persons from the violence of men, no, nor your necks from the axe.

“ Let his Spirit have the alone authority to persuade and dissuade people from, or to, such or such ministry, worship, and practices of religion ; and let all forced maintenance to ministers, and tithes, be speedily taken away. Let all laws and decrees whatsoever, made and practised in the days of anti-christ, upon the bodies, estates, and con-

sciences of the people, in oppression and unjustness about church and worship and religion, be utterly repealed and made void, and never more be in force in this nation. But let my Lord be sole ruler and governor, and have the full authority in his own kingdom, in all things whatsoever pertaining thereunto.

“ And let no man henceforth hereafter be entrusted with the liberties of the members of Christ’s kingdom, as they are such, nor to judge over them in any matters of faith and worship, but give that right and privilege wholly unto the Spirit of Jesus Christ. Unto Him only it pertaineth to be whole judge, and to have full power in his own kingdom ; and until you give Him the right, and deliver up unto Him his own kingdom, and the exercise of people’s consciences in all things about religion, you shall never prosper, nor any that cometh after you, that shall in any measure abridge my Master of his proper right, from which He hath long been banished, as I have said. Till his right be given Him, in the case aforesaid, He will dash one man against another, and none shall ever be established ; but horn after horn shall be broken, and one power after another brought into confusion.

EDWARD BURROUGH.”


Ninth Month, 1659.

How strongly prophetic the language in the foregoing address : Your estates shall not be spared from the spoiler, nor your necks from the axe ; your enemies shall charge treason upon you, and if you seek to stop the Lord’s work, you shall not cumber the earth very long. Monk was about preparing to move into England with the army from Scotland, and then came the Restoration, with its train of imprisonments, banishments, confiscations, and death.

CHAPTER IX.

IN the Ninth Month, 1659, after writing the Address to the rulers given in our last chapter, Edward Burrough left London. In the same month we find him at East Hamstead, in Berkshire, at a public dispute, which was held on the challenge of the priest, Christopher Fowler, and some of his clerical brethren. Two positions affirmed that day by the priest, were that "The Scriptures are the glorious everlasting foundation of foundations;" and also, that "A man may at one and the same time, be a minister of Christ and a deceiver." Little good appears to have resulted from this meeting, for Fowler hastily withdrew, and Edward unavailingly sought to have another opportunity with him. On the 26th of the Ninth Month, soon after Edward had passed out of that neighborhood, Christopher Fowler drew up a paper against the people called Quakers, consisting of ten particulars. He said he was able to sustain these charges against them, and was willing to let them choose their own time for a public debate, and it might be as soon as they pleased. Edward Burrough received a copy of Fowler's paper, and sent him word that on Fourth-day, the 21st of the Tenth Month, he would meet with him at Reading.

Fowler perhaps did not desire to debate with Edward, at least he declined meeting him at the time and place designated, although in the challenge he had left this to be fixed by the Quakers. He said Reading was not a suitable place, proposed Oakingham in the same county, and suggested another time. Edward came to Reading two days before the time he had appointed for the dispute,



and there he received the priest's reply. He had appointed meetings at divers places, and he found that he could not be at Oakingham at the time designated. He also considered Reading, the town where Fowler preached, as the most suitable place for the dispute. Accordingly he wrote to Fowler, letting him know that he was at Reading, ready to dispute with him, but could not be at Oakingham at the time he designated. Fowler in reply, said, he would not meet him at Reading, for there was no need of dispute there. Edward finding that the public dispute would fall through, answered the charges in print.


Thomas Curtis was with Edward in his travels through Hertfordshire, and perhaps James Nayler. They passed northward into Buckinghamshire, and in the Tenth Month held a meeting at a place called "The Grove," about a mile from the house of Isaac Penington. This meeting was remarkable as that at which Thomas Ellwood was convinced of the truth of Quakerism. The whole ministerial service of the meeting fell upon Edward. Thomas says the ministry not only convinced his understanding, but warmed his heart with a heat, which till then he had never felt under the ministry of any man.

When the meeting was over the three friends went to the house of Isaac Penington, where Thomas Ellwood, with his father and sisters, were on a visit. In conversation with Edward, Thomas's father advanced the Calvinistic doctrine of personal predestination, in opposition to the universal free grace of Christ Jesus, but he soon found himself at a loss for argument to sustain his position. Edward said little in reply to him, but James Nayler took up the subject, and as Thomas says, "handled it with so much perspicuity and clear demonstration, that his reasoning seemed irresistible; and so I suppose my father found it,

which made him willing to drop the discourse. As for Edward Burrough, he was a brisk young man, of a ready tongue."

"The next morning we prepared to return home, that is, my father, my youngest sister, and myself; when having taken leave of our friends, we went forth; they with Edward Burrough accompanying us to the gate, he there directed his speech in a few words to each of us severally, according to the sense he had of our several conditions. And when we were gone off, and they gone in again, they asked him what he thought of us? He answered them, as they afterwards told me, to this effect: 'As for the old man, he is settled on his lees; and the young woman is light and airy; but the young man is reached, and may do well if he does not lose it.' Surely that which he said to me, or rather that spirit in which he spake it, took such fast hold on me, that I felt sadness and trouble come over me, though I did not distinctly understand what I was troubled for."

A few weeks after this interview, Thomas Ellwood going with Isaac Penington to a meeting at Wiccomb, again met with Edward Burrough, who had come thither from Oxford. It was a Monthly Meeting, consisting of Friends chiefly, who gathered to it from several parts of the country thereabouts; so that it was pretty large." Thomas Ellwood says, "A very good meeting was this in itself and to me. Edward Burrough's ministry came forth among us in life and power, and the assembly was covered therewith. I also, according to my small capacity, had a share in it. For I felt some of that Divine power working my spirit into a great tenderness, and not only confirming me in the course I had already entered, and strengthening me to go on therein; but also rending the veil somewhat further,



and clearing my understanding on some other things which I had not seen before.

“Edward Burrough going home with Isaac Penington, he invited me to go back with him, which I willingly consented to. For the love I had more particularly to Edward Burrough, through whose ministry I had received the first awakening stroke, drew me to desire his company, and so away we rode together. But I was somewhat disappointed of my expectation; for I hoped he would have given me both opportunity and encouragement to have opened myself to him, and to have poured forth my complaints, fears, doubts and questionings into his bosom. But he, being sensible that I was truly reached and that the witness of God was raised, and the work of God rightly begun in me—chose to leave me to the guidance of the good spirit in myself, the Counsellor that could resolve all doubts, that I might not have any dependence on man. Wherefore, although he was naturally of an open and free temper and carriage, and was afterwards always very familiar and affectionately kind to me; yet at this time he kept himself somewhat reserved, and showed only common kindness to me. Next day we parted, he for London and I for home.”

This was about the beginning of the Eleventh Month. In that same month, Edward wrote a postscript to Francis Howgill's “Heart of New England hardened through wickedness.” This contains a sharp reproof to that hard-hearted, liberty-loving, as well as liberty-restricting people. It thus concludes: “O, have you forgotten since you were sufferers yourselves? Then it was well with you,—far better than now. You are at ease in the flesh and have forgotten God, and lost that sincerity which once was in you. The very spirit of the old bishops which once per-

secuted you, has entered into your hearts, and now lives in you and acts in you. In the days of your prosperity you are exalted, and have forgotten the Lord, and you requite Him evil for his love." This is very descriptive of the spirit manifested about the time this letter was written, and for many previous years, by the magistrates and priests of the Massachusetts colony. Edward's feelings were keenly sensitive to the sufferings of his fellow-believers, and he labored fervently in various ways to stop the persecution then raging against them in New England.

On the 24th of the Eleventh Month, he wrote the following letter to Parliament :

"FRIENDS:"

"All these overturnings, and almost wonderful changings, were effected through the justice of the Lord's hand. You are now again at the helm of government, and on the throne; and I dare not but say it is of and by the Lord, and that He hath done it contrary to the expectations of many, and what his end is in it, remains with Him. But I am sure one cause is, that you may execute part of his wrath upon that treacherous generation of hypocritical and deceitful men,—some of the army I mean. I need not say to you, how that many of them were raised up from a low estate; and, instead of serving the nation, became their lords and oppressors. They have abused the Lord's mercy to them, and exalted themselves, and became as great oppressors, and as grievous to the nation, as ever they were that went before them. Some of them took the very tithes and estates of their enemies, and followed their evil spirit also, though the Lord was long-suffering to them, and gave them a day, and put opportunity into their hands, wherein they might have done good.

But they also neglected to serve God and the nation, to serve themselves; and because of the ambition and pride of some of them, the Lord suffered them to make this last interruption upon you, which was great treachery in man's account, that thereby their measure might be filled up, and that He might give you occasion against them, and suffer you to be filled with indignation towards them, to break them to pieces. What you do to some of them, in casting them out, and afflicting them, you are but God's executioners therein; you are the executioners of his anger, in what you do to them; and who shall prevent you, or forbid Him to go on? For they have long enough dissembled with this nation in professing more than others and doing less, and their downfall is now. And God hath looked upon you to be hard-hearted and cruel enough and very fit executioners of vengeance upon such men as I have mentioned.

But now concerning you and your present state, as you are in present place and power, I have something to say to you. Though they are fallen, and you yet stand, and you have a little time after them; do not glory over their fall, neither glory as though you should stand for ever; for they were not greater sinners than you are, neither are you one whit more righteous than some of them; but you are as sure to fall, as they are fallen, with no less measure of dishonor and affliction than is come upon them; and you are in your last hour. I dare not say, that God expects much more from you than for the end aforesaid, viz: to be the executioners of justice upon men as sinful as yourselves; so do not glory over them that are fallen.

But know that your time also is but short, and your fall may prove to your destruction, and theirs may prove

to make them better and refine them. If God hath chosen you to execute some part of his wrath upon them, for their wickedness, He will doubtless find instruments to execute his wrath upon you, else He will do it with his own hands; for He purposeth not to spare you; for your sins cry as loud as any other people's, and the oppressions are as great under you, as under them whom you condemn. I desire, if there be any good men amongst you, that such who are wise may consider and mind the hand of the Lord in and through all these things that are come to pass; for God is working as well as you, He is seeking to set up a kingdom as well as you, and his government and yours cannot stand together; and He will make you know that He is stronger, and his government of more force, and your kingdom cannot stand in place with his.

Therefore, oh, that you would take heed! Oh, that you would be wise, if so be some of you may be spared. And be not too zealous in your way, nor too furious in your proceedings; do but to others as you intend to receive from others and from the Lord. Go not beyond your commission; for a permission at least you have had from God, even to scourge hypocrites, and to be a judgment upon that hypocritical, seeming religious generation of men aforesaid, which have many a time as it were mocked God, and pretended love to Him with their lips, when their hearts have yearned after self-honor and the treasures of this world. I say, your present hour and permission is for this end, but not to persecute the people of the Lord, nor to destroy God's heritage; but if you shall extend your power unto such a work, and if you do persecute the innocent without cause, and make war against the Lamb and his followers, and make laws and execute them to the oppression of the saints of the Most

High, then you go beyond your commission ; for God hath not called you unto this, but to be instruments in another cause.

The children of Zion trust in the living God, and fear not the terror of mighty men, neither can they be afraid at the roaring of the sea, nor at the present threatening of the heathen, for God is with them. I say unto you, the servant of the Lord hath pondered and considered all these proceedings, and viewed the present state of things at this day, and there is no vision from God unto you of peace and comfort, nor of a happy and lasting government, as you stand. If any prophet shall divine this unto you, he speaks what he hath not from the Lord, but the vision of his own heart, and he deceives you and himself; for you are not established upon a right foundation, neither are you acted by a right spirit, which can truly govern for God ; but the spirit of wrath and fury is put into you, for the work to which you are called. I know not how to warn you, that you do not persecute the people of God. For why? It may be you must fill up your measure of wickedness thereby, that God may break you perpetually ; yet the less will be your judgment, if you do it not. But if you do it, the Lord will take occasion against you, to wound you, and you shall never be healed, and as you do afflict others, so and much more shall it be done unto you from the Lord.

Wherefore, consider what I have said ; for this is the vision of the Almighty unto you, that shall not go unfulfilled. What you do, you must do it quickly ; for your time is short and your power will God subdue ; and his kingdom and power will He speedily exalt over your heads and make you and the nations know that He is God, and that all power is with Him, and that He can

do whatsoever He will ; and it is his right alone to reign, and his children's portion to possess the kingdom with Him. Let the whole earth, and all the powers thereof, bow and tremble before Him ; let not your hearts be stout and rebellious against Him, for He can grind you to powder, and sink you into confusion and misery, as a stone into the sea.

EDWARD BURROUGH."

The 24th of the Eleventh Month, 1659.

About the close of 1658, Edward Burrough had met with a paper circulated for signatures, which purported to be a free call to William Brunsward to exercise his ministry at Kendal. On this, Edward had addressed some queries to the said Brunsward, relative to his call to the ministry and a few other subjects, concluding with a proposition to hold a public discussion with him at Kendal. No notice was taken of this challenge, but Brunsward soon afterward attempted to revenge himself on Edward, for the doubt insinuated in the queries as to his true call to the ministry, by writing a book, entitled : " The Quaker-Jesuit ; or, Popery in Quakerism." This book was answered by John Story, in a tract called " Babylon's defense broken down, and one of anti-christ's warrior's defeated." Edward Burrough added some remarks to this, publishing the queries he had formerly sent to Brunsward and renewing the challenge to meet him at Kendal. He says, " These things I am willing to travel through in discourse with thee, the said William Brunsward, or any other that shall accept of the propositions, with the consent of the mayor and aldermen of the town, who may preserve the place and people in peace and soberness ; also provided, that each of us on both parts may have

full deliberation to speak forth our minds pertinently to the matter, and that each may have silence from the other whilst he is speaking; that all fair and sober dealing be amongst us, and the fear of God."

Addressing Brunsward and his party in Kendal, he says, "I am a lover of your souls, and a friend to righteousness; and daily travail in the work of the Gospel to the intent that sinners may be converted to God, and the saints be strengthened in the faith which gives them victory over the world; and I wait for Zion's redemption, and for the overthrow of great Babylon, that hath ruled over the kings of the earth."

About this time an address, signed by sixty-one ministers of the city of London, was published under the title of "A Seasonable Exhortation;" in which they treat on the present distracted state of the nation, in respect both to civil and religious affairs. Among the evidences of the deplorable condition of the nation, they adduce "The many horrid and hideous errors which for some years past have abounded, against the authority of Scriptures, the deity of Christ, the Holy Ghost, Trinity of persons, immortality of souls, doctrines of repentance, humiliation, sanctification, resurrection of the dead, and the eternal recompense of heaven and hell," "and the divers sects increasing every day in number and power, and under the names of Quakers, Ranters, Seekers, &c., oppugning the received doctrine and unquestionable interest of Christ Jesus."

To these heavy accusations against the society of Friends, Edward Burrough published a reply, entitled, "A return to the Ministers of London," in which he successfully refutes the accusations, and gives much pertinent

advice to the authors of them. From this essay the following is extracted, viz :

“That many horrid errors have abounded amongst you, is very true, as in many particulars might be instanced. But why do you maliciously charge the Quakers with opposing the interest of Christ Jesus? The Lord shall judge you in his day, when He makes it appear to all the world, that those whom you charge with the contrary, are the very friends of Christ’s interest, and have been patient sufferers for his name sake, under the wickedness of your generation. As for the Ranters, Seekers, and others, whom you have reckoned up with the Quakers, it is well known that we are in opposition in spirit unto all these, and have given large testimony in the fear of God against them.” “What the Seekers, Ranters, Familiists, and the rest mentioned by you, do hold, as in these things you have charged them with, I will leave that, for I am not now pleading their cause, but the cause of God and his people, whom you in scorn call Quakers. And though you have joined them in accusation with others, yet I must separate them from others in my answer, and must tell you in the fear of the Lord, that you have belied them, and falsely accused them. For they do not deny the authority of the Scriptures, but give that authority to them, which the Spirit of God that gave them forth hath formerly given. Neither do they deny the Deity of Christ, but do say, In Him dwelleth the fullness of the Godhead; neither do they deny the Holy Spirit, nor the Father, Son, and Spirit, but say there are three, and these three are one; but as for your Trinity of Persons, that is language beside the Scriptures. We do affirm the soul is immortal; and as for the doctrines of repentance, humiliation, sanctification, resurrection from

the dead, the eternal recompense of heaven and hell; these doctrines are publicly held forth by them in words, and also in practice, more than by yourselves. Therefore with what face you could charge them with the denial of these things, is almost wonderful. There are thousands of your congregations that are and have been sometimes hearing [them] in your city, that shall bear witness against your accusations, and give evidence that they have heard them whom you call Quakers, give faithful witness of and for all these things which you charge them with the denial of. Do you think that your congregations are all so blind as to receive for truth what you have herein spoken; nay, I must tell you, some of them are offended with you because hereof."

On the First-day of the Third Month, 1660, Edward Burrough being in Oxfordshire, felt a concern that his brethren should be preserved in the true place of spiritual safety, amid the tumults, agitations, and fears which were shaking the nation, at the bringing in of king Charles II., and addressed them in an epistle which contained the following:

"DEARLY BELOVED:

"Friends are to mind this, even peace, and union, and fellowship with the Lord, and the comfort of his presence, which is the only happiness of the creature, even the enjoyment of Him that is invisible, who is God infinite over all, to whom mortal eye cannot approach, neither can the mortal mind apprehend, but in his own life manifested in mortal flesh, and by the measure of his own Spirit that dwells in us is He seen, felt, perceived and enjoyed of us. So mind the immortal life begotten of the Father in you, that that may live in you, even the heir of God, which is

his image and likeness, for in that alone is covenant with God made and kept, and in it is the Father's presence enjoyed, and he worshipped without respect of time, place or visible thing. If that live in you, then you in that will live unto God, in all that is answerable unto Him. Your words and works will be accepted of Him, and well-pleasing to Him, even because it is He that worketh in you to will and to do all good things. He alone is exalted in you, and you subjected, and the Maker is become the Husband, and you married unto Him. He lives in power, and rule, and command, and you live in subjection unto Him, and in fulfilling his will in what He guideth in, by his Holy Spirit. And this life is very precious.

And as concerning the times and seasons, and the present confusions and distractions that are amongst men, much might be spoken; but certainly the end of all these things shall be turned for good unto us and unto all that do abide in faith and patience unto the end. Though the present times be of an heavy countenance towards us, like as if we should be swallowed up through the roaring of the sea, and because wickedness doth abound by the spirit that now is exalted; yet in this let us respect the Lord, for certain it is, that times and seasons are in his hand, to change them at his pleasure, and to take them from one and give them to another when He will. The day is his, and the victory is in his hand. Oh! let not mortal men glory against Him; man's time is but for a moment, and it is our blessedness and peace to be still; and to have a respect to the Lord through all these overturnings. And though the spirit that now is, be wicked and abounding in iniquity, yet the Lord will limit its way.

And as for all the confusions and distractions, and

rumors of wars, what are they to us? What have we to do with them? Wherein are we concerned in these things? Is not our kingdom of another world, even that of peace and righteousness? Hath not the Lord called us and chosen us into the possession of that inheritance, wherein strife and enmity dwell not? Yea, He hath broken down that part in us that is related thereunto, and being dead in that nature of strife, bloodshed and wars, how can we live in strife and contention in the world, or have fellowship with any therein.

Can we have pleasure in the confusion and distraction amongst men, or join in anything with them, if so be we are quickened in the new life to God, which is a life of love and peace, and free from such things? If we are crucified in the life to this world, out of which all strife and confusion arise, how can we live therein? Therefore these things are nothing to us, neither are we of one party, or against another, to oppose any by rebellion, or plottings against them, in enmity and striving with them by carnal weapons, nor to destroy any men's lives though our enemies; for we war not for any, nor against any, for the matters of this world's kingdom.

And as for me, if I were no more, this is the testimony of my love unto the seed of God through these nations, who am a companion to all that travail after truth and righteousness and that seek the Lord in their hearts that He may rule; and these things were upon me, to send amongst the flock of God, to be read in all your meetings.

EDWARD BURROUGH."

Oxfordshire, the 1st day of the Third Month, 1660.

Charles II. was now established as king over Great Britain, and as many public predictions had been given

out by Friends, plainly foretelling that he would be brought in, some of his friends wished to know whether the Quakers could tell if his power was likely to be permanent. Some one, Sewel supposes it to have been Lord Clarendon, drew up several queries addressed to Friends on this subject. It had this heading: "To the Quakers: some Queries are sent to be answered, that all people may know your spirit and the temper of it, and your judgment concerning the times and seasons." This was added: "Let your answer be directed, 'Tradite hanc Amico Regis.' Deliver this to the king's friend."

About the middle of the Third Month, Edward Burrough replied to this in a work entitled, "A visitation and presentation of Love unto the King and those called Royalists."

In this essay he replies to a number of queries propounded to the Society relative to the state of affairs in the government.

In the course of his answers he deals with his catechist in a strain of honest and fearless exposition, not sparing to reprove their evil practices and warning them faithfully what must be the consequences if they persist in suffering wickedness to go unpunished, while the righteous are persecuted for their conscientious adherence to the law of their God.

Although busy with his pen, Edward Burrough still found time to travel in the work of the ministry as his Master led him. Soon after writing the foregoing he went into the west of England. Being in Somersetshire on the 25th of the Fourth Month, he felt his heart drawn in love to salute his fellow-believers in London with an epistle.

He remained some time laboring amongst Friends in

the west. On the 4th of the Sixth Month he was at Bristol, where he had been for several weeks. Whilst at this place he wrote "A presentation of wholesome information to the king of England." This was a defence of the Society of Friends from an attack made upon them by a George Wellington, of Bristol, in a work then just published, entitled: "The thrice happy welcome of king Charles the Second."

Of his labor at Bristol, he says, "I continued about Bristol two months in much precious service for the Lord, and Truth had good authority over all, and great acceptance in the hearts of many. Some were convinced and some edified and confirmed, as many can witness. Until after the time of the fair I was not clear of that city, but immediately after I was free."

A concern had been long on his mind to pay a second visit to Ireland, and the time now seemed come to fulfil it. Almost immediately after writing the above answer to Wellington, he took shipping with Joseph Coale and others for Cork. In that city he remained for a considerable time, laboring in the work of the ministry, with his usual faithfulness and success. On the 21st of the Sixth Month he once more addressed an epistle to his beloved Friends in London.

At the close of this epistle he says, "I am now according to the will of the Father, in Ireland. It is some weeks since I arrived in Cork city, in much peace and safety, with my dear companions, it having been long upon my spirit to visit the seed of God in this nation. Of love have I felt it in me; not of constraint, but of a willing mind—a free spirit and not of force. After a time of patience and waiting for many days to see my way clear for it, the Lord hath ordered it and brought it to pass, ac-

ceptable to me and many here. This is the time when this visitation must be effected, for till now my way was not clear. But that this journey hath laid upon me I should have rejoiced to have been present among you, either in testimony, by suffering, or otherwise. But this is the will of God, and it is in my heart to pass through this nation, and to visit the seed of God, by the love and word of the Father, as He gives of his life and strength and opens the way before me. I perceive in this land, Friends are generally well, and Truth grows in victory and dominion, and the Lord is adding to the numberless number of them that must stand on Mount Zion; and through the rage of men, and above it all, the little flock is preserved in its beauty, and the seed sown in weakness and affliction is received and quickened in much power, which is my joy." "I hope in the continuance of the power and presence of the Lord with me through this work. In his power I am compelled, even to do and suffer all things for his name-sake, and that by virtue of his own life that dwells in me. The Lord preserve all the brethren like-minded, that the work of the Lord may be fulfilled and finished by us. Amen."

He travelled throughout Ireland, and for six months labored abundantly in the defence and promulgation of the Truth in that nation. Of the particulars of his service but little information has been preserved.

Towards the close of his visit, he was once more in Cork. At this time persecution was beginning to rage in London, and many Friends there were cast into prison. The account of this stirred up the warm feelings of Christian love in Edward, and it would seem, from the following eloquent and fervent letter, he had a foresight that he would speedily suffer, even to death, amongst them.

“MY VERY DEAR AND BELOVED FRIENDS.

“My very heart is filled with love to you, and never was the affection of a brother to his brother more lively, fervent and full. I am wholly affected with your integrity and faithfulness. Shall I say, like as a father loves his children, so do I you,—wishing and desiring with my whole heart the increase of blessing and peace upon you, when I am no more, by any outward testimony in this world. How it shall be [with me], and whether my testimony must pass the outward world with my blood, I cannot tell; but if so, I doubt not but to receive great gain. My witness is with the Lord, that I have served Him from a child.

I am brimful of deep, serious and weighty contemplation concerning what hath been, what now is, and what must be—not lawful to be declared. Well, as for Friends in London, my kind and dearest love salutes them all. Tell them that I am well and that as they are faithful in God’s Truth, it adds to my joy. To my dearly and truly beloved, G. F., F. H., R. H., and all the rest who know me, let this be mentioned.

The truth of our testimony and its glorious effects through the world, for these some years, ye know. God hath been with us in a very large measure, and He will not forsake us unto the end. When we are no more, our memorial shall be precious and our testimony shall not die. Let me be mentioned to all our Friends who are in prison in the city and elsewhere. My heart longeth after you—even that you may be faithful to the end. Our God shall conquer for us; if He were not our strength we should be swallowed up quick. There is great wickedness hatching against us. Our enemies are thirsting for our blood. This is so. God hath not deceived me; but

his hand can deliver us, if He will. But if He will not, as you have often heard me say, let us not bow to the devil. My heart is full, but I must cease from writing, though never from love, nor from being your very dearly and tenderly beloved,

EDWARD BURROUGH."

"How shall I mention any by name in the remembrance of my love? I heartily love all the saints and bid all the faithful in my soul farewell. I cannot give any particular account of my peril and sore travail; but all is well as to Truth in this land, and God hath been, is, and let Him ever be with me."

Cork, the 18th of Eleventh Month, 1660.

From Cork Edward Burrough appears to have taken passage to Bristol, from which place, on the 11th of Twelfth Month, he addressed an epistle "To his companions in the travail and labor of the Gospel of Christ," in which he exhorts them to stand faithful amid the sufferings and trials which attend them and not to be dismayed or discouraged, but lift up their heads in humble hope and confidence in the Lord and commit themselves wholly into his hand. He thus concludes, viz:

"It is now eight days since I left Ireland, where my service hath been precious for the Lord, for full six months; all which time the Lord carried me in much faithfulness and diligence in his service, to the confirming of many in the Truth of God, and to the converting of others; and through and because of the presence of the Lord, which was with me, I had a very precious time and was wonderfully preserved through many dangers and trials. I travelled nearly two thousand miles to and fro

in that land and had very free passage in the principal cities and towns till my work for the present was fully ended there, having more time than could be expected to clear my conscience to all people. It would be too large to mention every particular transaction, wherein I perceived the eminent hand of God with me, and also many things I observed concerning the present state of things, which I shall not now mention ; for what have we to do with the affairs of worldly kingdoms? But as for Friends, it was well with them, they grow and increase in the blessings and fulness of the Father. When I came thence all was quiet and very few in prison, though, I suppose, the tidings of things as they are here will produce the same sufferings upon them. But I hope they will be bold and valiant for the Truth, in giving their testimony by faithful sufferings, till these things be finished.

Thus, I remain in life and death, and when I am no more, in everlasting remembrance, your dear brother and companion, by doing and suffering for the name of the Lord and his Truth. I am well and at liberty as yet.

EDWARD BURROUGH."


11th of the Twelfth Month, 1660.

The insurrection of the fifth monarchy men, had occasioned a proclamation from king Charles against the meetings of the people called Quakers. At Bristol there were many ready and willing to do all they could to suppress the meetings in that city. On the 15th of the Eleventh Month, before the king's proclamation had been published there, a company of soldiers with their officers, took sixty-five persons from the meeting at Dennis Hollister's and carried them to the Guild-hall. Dennis Hollister and George Bishop being selected from the rest, were

taken before the mayor. He examined them apart and endeavored to persuade them and to frighten them with threats from holding religious meetings. Unconvinced by his arguments and undaunted by his threats, they answered with Christian courage and boldness, "that they thought it their duty so to meet, in obedience to the requirings of the Lord, whom they ought to obey rather than man. In so doing they had broken no law, not even the proclamation which had not yet been published." The mayor then demanded of them sureties for their good behavior. This they refused to give, because they knew that the mayor held their attending their religious meetings to be a breach of good behavior. Whilst speaking on this subject they told the magistrates, "That they might as well think to hinder the sun from shining, or the tide from flowing, as to think to hinder the Lord's people from meeting to wait on Him, whilst two of them were left together."

The mayor, who had respect to persons, sent to prison all the men arrested, except Dennis Hollister and George Bishop, who had been great men in that community before they turned Quakers, and indeed men of influence through the nation. When the magistrates told these two that they might go to their own houses, they felt indignant at the perversion of justice, and nobly said, "We seek not liberty at the hand of those who have ordered our brethren to prison, nor can it be just to commit poor men and let us go free."

They were, however, left at liberty, but Dennis Hollister was the next day committed, and George Bishop two days after, the last being taken from a meeting at his own hired house. The first arrest of sixty-five was made on Third-day, Dennis Hollister on Fourth-day, George Bishop



on Sixth-day, and the next First-day sixty-five more were committed. Some were arrested at private houses, and at this time, the 20th, there were one hundred and ninety in the prison.

On the 24th they were all released in consequence of a second proclamation of the king, obtained by the efforts of Margaret Fell, who represented to him the grievous sufferings his first proclamation had occasioned. When Edward Burrough arrived in Bristol in the Twelfth Month, Friends were generally at liberty, except a few imprisoned for refusing to contribute towards the charge of the militia and others for not taking the oath of allegiance.

On the 11th day of the Twelfth Month, a petition or address from the court of Boston, in New England, was presented to the king. It was an endeavor on behalf of the rulers in New England to justify their persecution of Friends, and the taking of their lives. To expose the fallacies of this address, Edward Burrough was soon ready with a work, entitled, "Some Considerations," in which he says:

"I do testify to the king, and before the whole world, that we do profess and believe concerning the Father, Son and Spirit, and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the blessed Gospel, and the Holy Scriptures. I say, we do believe and make profession in truth and righteousness concerning all these things, and by our doctrines and instructions do persuade all people to believe, and not to seduce any from these truths of the Gospel." "As for the Scriptures being the rule of life, we say, the Spirit of God that gave forth the Scriptures is the rule of life and faith unto the saints and leads not contrary, but according unto the Scriptures, in the belief and practice of whatsoever the Scripture saith. If these petitioners did make the Scrip-

tures the rule of their lives and practices, for the denial of which they accuse us, they would not have cut off ears, banished and put to death for the cause of conscience, which is contrary to the Scriptures, and proceedeth from another spirit than that which gave forth the Scriptures.

“Concerning government. We are not enemies unto government itself, as these our accusers do charge us; but it is our principle and hath ever been, and it is our practice to be subject to whatsoever government is set up over us, either by doing or suffering. And neither to vilify nor rebel against any government or governors, by any malicious plots and contrivances; but to walk in meekness and humility towards all, being subject for conscience sake.

“As for our doctrines tending to subvert both church and state, this is also a false accusation and slander; for our doctrines are to convert and not to subvert. Even to convert to God and truth, and righteousness, that men should live in these things, and forsake all that which is contrary.”

As many things were stated falsely concerning the doctrines and practices of Friends, Edward Burrough deemed it right to draw up something more full on some points than he had yet done. He accordingly prepared “A just and righteous plea, presented unto the king of England and council.” In this he treats on “swearing,” “meetings for worship,” “tithes,” “giving security to live peaceably,” “concerning government,” and “persecution.” It is preceded by an epistle to the king and his council, written on the 10th of the Second Month, 1661.

About this time a book came forth anonymously, bearing the title, “Semper Idem, or a Parallel of Phanaticks.” This was the production of a Roman Catholic, and appeared as a justification of the burning of those Protest-

ants commonly called martyrs, who are designated ancient fanatics. To this work Edward replied in a publication entitled, "Persecution impeached, as a traitor against God, his laws and government; and the cause of the ancient martyrs vindicated against the cruelty inflicted upon them by the papists of former days." "Wherein is contained a relation of the martyrdom of many such as dissented and opposed the church of Rome; who are in the said book vilified and reproached by the name and term of ancient phanaticks. This is sent forth as an answer thereunto, to pursue it and condemn it, as a pamphlet of calumnies and slanders against the Protestants, both of former and present days; who are all of them scorned in the said book, the one as ancient, the other as modern phanaticks."

On the 26th of Third Month, 1661, Edward again appeared as a champion of the violated rights of man, in an address, entitled "The case of Free Liberty of Conscience in the exercise of Faith and Religion, presented to the King and both houses of Parliament."

CHAPTER X.

ON the 10th day of the Third Month, 1661, on the coronation of the king, he, as an act of grace, gave forth a royal proclamation, by which he discharged from prison all who were in confinement under the act for refusing the oath of allegiance, or for meeting for worship, contrary to his former proclamation. Religious liberty was not yet heartily approved of by the rulers, and in a few days after this an attempt was made in Parliament to ob-

tain a special act to crush the Society of Friends. Edward Burrough says: "The 26th day of the Third Month, it was moved by a certain member of the House of Commons, whose name I shall not now mention, that whereas the Quakers were a numerous people, and growing more numerous daily, and upon the king's indulgence and fair promises towards them, especially that proclamation for their release out of prisons, were very high and confident; and met together in great numbers, and were of dangerous consequence, and prevailed much to the seducing of the king's subjects; that therefore that House would be pleased to take into consideration, by what way and means to proceed to check and restrain their confidence; and to enact somewhat concerning their refusing to take oaths, and their great meetings. Whereupon it was put to the question in the House, and resolved upon the same, that it should be referred to a committee to prepare and bring in a bill to prevent the ill consequence to the government, by Quakers, Anabaptists, and other schismatics, refusing to take oaths, and numerously and unlawfully convening together, with such penalties as may be suitable to the nature of those offenses, and profitable to work upon the humors of such fanatics."

About six weeks after the appointment of this committee they reported a bill, which being twice read, was committed again to a committee. To this committee Edward Burrough, George Whitehead, and Richard Hubberthorn obtained access; and presented to them in writing their reasons against such a bill being enacted, and also had liberty to speak of its unreasonableness, and the woeful consequences which would follow. The committee met again on the 13th, and Friends again were admitted to address them. George Whitehead has recorded what he

said to the committee, and one sentiment spoken by his friend Edward Burrough, which the latter has more fully given us. Edward says, "The last thing that was said by one of us was, that if ever this bill now under debate was finished into an act to be executed, he was so far from yielding conformity thereunto, that he should, through the strength of Christ, meet among the people of God to worship Him; and not only so, but should make it his business to exhort all God's people everywhere, to meet together for the worship of God, notwithstanding that law and all its penalties. And he desired this might be reported to the House."

The committee were more moderate with the Friends at the second opportunity than at the first, and the spirits of some of them seemed brought down and subjected under the power of Truth; although one called Sir John Goodrich inveighed very bitterly at first against Friends. The bill was finally reported to the House on the 19th of the month, and the three Friends who had attended the committee being joined by Edward Pyott of Bristol, presented themselves at the bar of the Commons, requesting permission to give their reasons against it, which was granted. Edward Burrough insisted "That our meetings were no ways to the terror of the people, as was suggested in the preamble to the bill, but peaceable, only for the worship and service of Almighty God, as we are required by the law of God placed in our hearts and consciences, which they ought not to make any law against. No human law ought to be made contrary to the law of God; for if they did make any such law, it would not be binding." He quoted their ancient law book, "Doctor and Student," which he had in his hand, wherein treating of the law written in the heart of man,

it says, "Because it is written in the heart, it may not be put away, neither is it ever changeable by diversity of place or time; and therefore against this law, prescription, statute, or custom may not prevail; and if any be brought in against it, they be not prescriptions, statutes, nor customs, but things void and against justice." After reading this Edward said, "If they made such a law against our meetings, which are appointed for the worship of God, it would be contrary to the law of God, and void, or ought to be void, ipso facto."

The others then each spoke freely their objections to the bill. Edward, on summing up the whole, says, "The Lord opened our mouths, and we showed divers sound reasons unto the House against the aforesaid bill, and why it ought not to pass into an act;—first, because of the falsity and unsoundness of it in its ground; 2ndly, because of the unreasonableness and injustice of it in itself; and 3rdly, because of the evil effects of it, which must needs follow if it passed. Divers other things were spoken in the name and authority of the God of heaven, as concerning our peaceableness, &c., and of the absolute proper right that belonged to us, both from God and men, to enjoy the liberty of our consciences in the exercise of our religion, &c. And we had a good time to clear our consciences to them as about that bill, showing how it was contrary to the law of Christ, and to the king's promises, and destructive to many thousand good people."

The House heard what the Friends had to say with patience, and afterwards long debated the bill, but at last they passed it. When the bill came before the House of Lords, Edward Burrough presented some reasons and considerations against it. They were the same in sub-

stance as he had urged before the Commons, and are forcibly expressed. The bill did not become a law until the Third Month of the next year.

About the beginning of the Seventh Month, 1661, information reached London of the martyrdom of William Leddra at Boston, and the probability that other members of the Society of Friends, would shortly suffer the same fate. On learning this, Edward Burrough, on behalf of his fellow members in England, whose hearts were touched with sympathy for their distant brethren, obtained an audience with king Charles on the subject. He told the monarch, that a vein of innocent blood was opened in his dominions, which if not stopped would overrun all. The king, who, though dissipated in his morals, was yet good natured, and willing to grant a favor, if it did not give himself much trouble, replied, "But I will stop that vein." Edward requested him to act speedily in the case, "for we know not how many may soon be put to death." Charles said, "as soon as you will;" then addressing some one present he said, "call the secretary, and I will do it presently." The secretary came at the summons, and at the will of the king drew up a mandamus which was properly and officially executed. A day or two afterwards Edward called again on the king; the mandamus had been prepared, but the case slumbered. Indeed it probably would never have been attended to, if he had not been further pressed on the subject. In excuse for delay, the king said he had no occasion to send a ship to New England. Edward, who knew there were many chances of getting such a thing conveyed to its destination, by those who had a heart in the matter, inquired if he would be willing to grant his deputation to one called a Quaker. The king answered, "yes, to whom you will."

Edward then named Samuel Shattock, an inhabitant of New England, banished from thence on pain of death, and the king made him his deputy.

Samuel Shattock was soon ready to sail, for Friends made an agreement with Ralph Goldsmith, one of their members, who was master of a good ship, to sail in ten days, with or without freight. For this they paid him three hundred pounds. He reached his destination in safety, and at the sight of this mandamus, the proud rulers of Boston were forced to yield up their prey. All then in prison were discharged.

Edward Burrough, after seeing the deputy with the mandamus in a way to be speedily forwarded, set out to visit Friends in the north of England. Whilst in Westmoreland, he appears to have found various manuscript essays written by him at different times, which on reading over he now concluded to publish, and called his book "a Discovery of Divine Mysteries." The preface bears date the 25th of the Seventh Month. Whilst still in the north he addressed another general epistle to the saints.

He continued laboring about the place of his nativity for some time, and on the 28th of the Eighth Month, addressed another epistle to Friends of the Truth in and about London.

We have no further account of the labors of Edward Burrough, until we find him in the latter part of the Tenth Month, or the beginning of the Eleventh Month in Oxfordshire, visiting Thomas Ellwood, then sick of the small pox. From Oxfordshire he went to his old field of labor, the city of London. Here in the Twelfth Month he wrote "an epistle to the rulers in the Christian world," as a preface to a new work he was about publishing, en-

titled "Anti-christ's government justly detected of injustice, unreasonableness, oppression and cruelty."


About this time John Perrott began to lay claim to greater spirituality than his brethren, and to be elevated with spiritual pride and self conceit. He does not appear ever to have been qualified for, or called to much service in the church. Yet when he was humble, he was without doubt accepted in that little which his heavenly Father required. Now, however, being puffed up, he put on, to draw attention and admiration, the appearance of great sanctity. He declared himself not easy to take off his hat in the time when any of his fellow ministers engaged in public prayer, unless he felt a particular sense of duty thus to uncover his head. This began to create some diversity of feeling amongst Friends, and some unpleasant scenes in their meetings. Edward Burrough was favored to see the root, from whence the affected singularity of John Perrott in this particular had its rise, and as one instructed in the ways of righteousness, administered to him a sharp rebuke.

Edward Burrough once more felt his mind drawn to visit Friends about Bristol. He was but a young man, and in years and bodily strength was in the prime of life, yet he felt as if his day's work was nearly over. In his ministerial labors in several meetings, and whilst parting with particular friends, he bade them farewell with unusual solemnity, saying many times that he did not know that he should see their faces any more, and exhorting them to faithfulness and steadfastness, in that wherein they had found rest to their souls. His last words to some were: "I am going up to the City of London again, to lay down my life for the Gospel, and suffer amongst Friends in that place." London had ever had a

strong hold on his affections, and he had said to his friend Francis Howgill, at a time when persecution was hot there, "I can freely go to the City of London, and lay down my life for a testimony to that Truth, which I have declared through the power of the Spirit of God."

Thus, under a sense of the near approach of death, he came up to London. Soon after arriving there, about the close of the Third Month, being at a meeting at the Bull and Mouth, which Francis Howgill says "the people of the Lord had kept for many years, to hear and speak of the things of God to edification," he was arrested whilst preaching. Those who arrested him violently pulled him down, and carried him to the guard, and from thence before Alderman Brown, who committed him to Newgate. He was taken to the sessions in the Old Bailey, and his accusers, and those who had personally abused him, were the sole witnesses against him. His case was before the court at two or three sessions, and at last he was fined, and sentenced to lay in prison until the fine was paid.

Many Friends were in Newgate at that time, shut up among felons, and not having sufficient room to accommodate them, and being in filthy places, their health and strength gave way. Richard Hubberthorn, arrested shortly after Edward Burrough, soon grew sick; and about the time he had been two months in prison, his spirit was released. He had been in a holy state of waiting, looking for his change, and lifted up above all the pains of nature. To some Friends who visited him he said, "There was no need to dispute matters, for he knew the ground of his salvation, and was satisfied for ever in his peace with the Lord." Of this Friend, Edward Burrough wrote a memorial. Although confined in prison, he was busy with his pen. One of his productions



is entitled, "A testimony concerning the beginning of the work of the Lord, and the first publication of Truth, in this City of London; and also concerning the cause, end, and service of the first appointment and setting up of the Men's Meeting at the Bull and Mouth; that it may be known to all perfectly, how the Lord hath begun and carried on his work to this day."

About the middle of the Ninth Month he addressed the following letter to some of his friends in the country:


"DEAR AND BELOVED FRIENDS:

"The lively remembrance of you dwells always with me, praying for the increase of peace and blessing to you from the Father. I know ye have learned Christ, and are acquainted with the teachings of his grace and spirit, which leads you into all Truth, and is a comforter unto you in all conditions—which is present with you, and in you, in all times and places—even the Spirit of the Holy God, which is given you: because you are children of Him who is God, blessed over all!

"Dearly beloved, my heart is filled with fervent love towards you at this time, and the lively sense of the Lord's suffering people rests upon my spirit, with the dear embraces and salutations in the same love with which I am loved of Christ Jesus my Lord, whom I hope ye have so learned as never to deny his Name and Truth. I am persuaded concerning you, that the greatest tribulations, afflictions and sufferings, can never move or shake your hope or confidence in God, nor separate you from his love, life and peace, which many of you have had large manifestations of, and some the assured possession of for ever-

more; and I hope nothing can separate you from that love which is of God, or divide you from it in the absence of the Father's presence, which is full of joy and peace. Nothing, I say, can be able to break our fellowship with the Lord, but that He is ours, and we are his, whatsoever wars, actions or tribulations may pass upon our outward man. I write unto the faithful, and I need not say unto you, 'know the Lord;' but I may say, 'stand fast, faithful and valiant unto death'—for the knowledge of God which ye have received; and give yourselves to be destroyed, rather than to renounce or deny Christ before men, or to cease from the exercise of your consciences in what his Holy Spirit persuades your hearts in the verity of.

"Friends here are generally well in the inward and outward man, and the presence of the Lord is manifest with us through great trials, and sore afflictions, and grievous persecutions, which we have met withal this last half year. It would be too large to relate, and piercing to your hearts to hear, the violence and cruelty which Friends have suffered in this city in their meetings, and in prisons; it hath been very hard to bear the persecution inflicted every way, though the Lord hath given strength and boldness, and his power alone hath carried through; else many would have fainted, and not have been able to stand. Many have given up their lives in faithfulness in this place; and their faithfulness in keeping meetings, and in patiently enduring many tribulations and cruel exercises, is a crown upon Friends in this city. Here are now near two hundred and fifty of us prisoners in Newgate, Bridewell, Southwark and New Prison. In Newgate we are so extremely thronged, that if the mercy of the Lord had not preserved us, we could not have endured.



There are near an hundred in one room on the common side among the felons, and their sufferings are great ; but the Lord supports. For about six weeks the meetings were generally quiet in the city, but these last three weeks they have fallen on more violently than ever, and imprisoned many Friends. But through all this, Truth is of good report, and the nobility of it gains place in many hearts, which are opened in pity and compassion toward innocent sufferers, and Truth is increased through all trials. Our trust is in the Lord, and not in man ; and we desire the same Spirit may dwell and abide in you also ; that ye may be like-minded with us, and we all of the mind of Christ, who seeks men's salvation, and not their destruction."

King Charles, who appears to have entertained much respect for Edward Burrough, hearing of the crowded condition of the prison, and the number who were sick or dying in it, sent a special order for the release of Edward Burrough and some others of the prisoners. This order, however, the cruel and persecuting alderman, Brown, and other London magistrates, contrived to thwart ; and Edward, who had become quite weak and sickly, from the pestilential air of the jail, rapidly grew worse. It soon became evident that this faithful and devoted servant of Christ, was hastening to the close of his labors on earth, to enjoy the crown immortal in heaven. The same meek, enduring and fervent spirit which had shown forth in his active and useful life, was apparent in the approach of death. As his sickness increased, he abounded in patience and composure, and the spirit of supplication rested richly upon him. By night and by day he poured out his prayers to God, for himself and for his people. His heart

being replenished with grace, he uttered many expressions indicating the heavenly frame of his soul, greatly to the comfort of his surviving friends. At one time he said, "I have had the testimony of the Lord's love to me from my youth up; and my heart has been given up to do his will."

His deep interest in the City of London, and the prosperity of the Society of Friends there, continued with him; and on one occasion he exclaimed, "I have preached the Gospel freely in this city, and have often given up my life for the Gospel's sake." "There is no iniquity lies at my door, but the presence of the Lord is with me, and his life, I feel justifies me." His heart overflowing with the love of God, and with a precious sense of God's love extended to him, he seemed borne above his weakness and sufferings, already enjoying a foretaste of that heavenly rest and peace, into which he was soon to enter. In addressing his heavenly Father, he would say, "I have loved thee from my cradle—from my youth unto this day; and have served thee faithfully in my generation."

Filled with a lively sense of the preciousness of that love, which is the fulfilling of the law, he exhorted his friends to "love one another, and to live in love and peace." He prayed for Richard Brown, one of his principal persecutors, by name; thus showing forth the spirit of his Divine Master, who, when suffering on the cross for the sins of mankind, interceded for his murderers in this affecting language: "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do." Thus calmly and peacefully he drew toward the close of life, the spirit of his Lord and Master being in dominion in him, and his faculties bright and clear, notwithstanding the violence of his disorder. Sensible that his death was near, he

said, just before it occurred, "Though this body of clay must return to dust, yet I have a testimony that I have served God in my generation ; and that Spirit which has acted and ruled in me shall yet break forth in thousands." Thus sustained by the power of God, in the faith and hope of the Gospel of Christ, he closed his life, a martyr for the name and testimony of the Lord Jesus, on the 14th day of the Twelfth Month, 1662, aged about 28 years.

Those who have followed this undaunted soldier in the Lamb's army, through his life of laborious dedication to the Gospel, and his peaceful and triumphant death, can subscribe to the language of George Fox respecting him: "His name is chronicled in the Lamb's book of life, a righteous spirit, pure, chaste and clean. Who can tax him with oppressing them, or burdening them, or being chargeable to them, who through suffering hath finished his course and testimony ; who is now crowned with the crown of life, and reigns with the Lord Christ for ever and ever.

"In his ministry in his life-time he went through sufferings by bad spirits. [He] never turned his back on the Truth, nor his back from any out of the Truth. A valiant warrior, more than a conqueror, who hath got the crown through death and sufferings. Who is dead, yet liveth amongst us."


TESTIMONIES

CONCERNING EDWARD BURROUGH, DECEASED.

IN a testimony given forth concerning him by Francis Howgill, his companion and fellow traveller in the ministry of the Gospel, we find the following, viz :

Shall days, or months, or years wear out thy name, as though thou hadst had no being? Oh nay! Shall not thy noble and valiant acts, and mighty works which thou hast wrought through the power of Him that separated thee from the womb, live in generations to come? Yes! the children that are yet unborn shall have thee in their mouths, and thy works shall testify of thee in generations who yet have not a being, and they shall count thee blessed. Did thy life go out as the snuff of a candle? Nay thou hast penetrated the hearts of many, and the memorial of the just shall live for ever, and be had in renown among the children of wisdom. Thou hast turned many to righteousness, and shall shine as a star of God in the firmament of his power, for ever and ever.

They that are in that, shall see thee there, and enjoy thee there, though thou be gone away hence, and can no more be seen in mutability. I cannot but mourn for thee, yet not as one without hope or faith, knowing and having a perfect testimony of thy well-being in my heart by the Spirit of the Lord; yet thy absence is great, and years to come shall know the want of thee. Shall I not lament as David did for Abner, when in wrath he perished by the hand of Joab, without any just cause.



Died Abner as a fool dieth? Nay! he was betrayed of his life; even so hast thou been bereaved of thy life by the hand of the oppressor, whose habitations are full of cruelty. When I think upon thee, I am melted into tears of true sorrow, because of the want that the inheritance of the Lord hath of thee.

It was my lot, which I cannot but say fell in a good ground, to be his companion and fellow laborer in the work of the Gospel, whereunto we were called for many years together. And when I consider, my heart is broken; how sweetly we walked together for many months and years! in which we had perfect knowledge of one another's hearts, and perfect unity of spirit. Not so much as one cross word, or one hard thought of discontent ever rose, I believe, in either of our hearts, for ten years together. Our souls were bound up in unity and peace, having the frame of our hearts bent after one and the self same thing, to wit, the propagation of that truth by which liberty was obtained, and salvation received through Jesus Christ the true light of the world. Seeing through his light the whole world to lie in wickedness; a necessity lay upon this person of whom I am speaking, being constrained by the Spirit of the Lord, by which he was made an able minister of the everlasting Gospel, to preach repentance, conversion, salvation and remission of sins.

Accordingly he went forth in the name and power of the Lord Jesus, the Saviour of mankind, and was an able minister of the glad tidings of salvation, in many, or most parts of this land; and also he travelled again and again through the whole nation of Ireland; in some part of Scotland, and part of Flanders; and his ministry was made effectual, through the Almighty power of God, in

turning many from darkness to light, and from the power of sathan to God. There are many thousands living in the body, and alive in the Truth, who can in the Spirit of the Lord bear testimony to the power and verity of his ministry, in many countries where he travelled; for he labored much in divers places, even in the heat of the day, though he began early in the morning.

In the beginning of his travels and labors, it was his share to break up rough places and untilled ground, and to walk amongst many briars and thorns, which scratched and pricked. He often trod the paths and ways which had not been occupied in the Truth; and where darkness had the dominion and was as a covering, he broke through as an armed man, not minding the opposition, but the victory, and the good of all souls, though to my knowledge his sufferings and trials have not been small, nor his exercise a little.

He was in travels often, oftentimes buffeted, sometimes knocked down by unreasonable men, who had not faith; loaded with lies, slanders, calumnies and reproaches, besides the exceeding weight of service from week to week, insomuch that he had seldom many hours of repose; and he often suffered by those spirits who lost their first love, and rose in opposition. He was very diligent and faithful, true hearted and valiant, and the yoke at last came to be easy unto him, though no ease at all in the body, as to the outward man; for he made the work of the Lord his whole business, without taking so much liberty unto himself, or about any outward occasion in this world, as to spend one week to himself, to my knowledge, these ten years. He had ventured himself often, for the body's sake; and a great care I know was in his heart, that those to whom he had ministered,

and others that had believed in the same truth, might prosper and walk as becometh the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

He was of a manly spirit in the things of God. He engaged himself often upon the Lord's account singly in great disputes, when there were many opposers. He hath stood in the door, and in the gap, against all his enemies, for the worthy name of God, and took the whole weight of things upon his own shoulders, that others might be eased, though often to the weakening, and almost destroying of the outward man, yet doing all in love to the Lord, and for his people's sake. He did it with cheerfulness, and it was a grief to him if any opportunity was missed of doing good. He was a man of no great learning in natural tongues, which men so much applaud; yet his heart was full of matter, and his tongue was as the hand of a ready scribe.

He had the tongue of the learned, having had experience of the work of the Lord, and being acquainted with many conditions which God had carried him through, he could speak a word in season unto all who declared their conditions to him or otherwise. In his public ministry he was elegant in speech, and had the tongue of a learned orator, to declare himself to the understandings and consciences of all men with whom he conversed, by which many received great profit, and their understandings came to be opened; for his words ministered grace to the hearers, and were forcible and very pleasant, as apples of gold in pictures of silver.

This young man, of whom I am speaking, was one of the first, with some others, who came to the city of London, where he met with no small opposition, both from professors of divers forms, and also profane, who heeded no religion at all. The way of Truth seemed contempti-

ble, and without form or comeliness to them all. This made the opposition so great, and the labor hard, notwithstanding it pleased the Lord to reach to the consciences of many, and many were pricked to the heart, so that they cried out, What shall we do to be saved!

God made his ministry very effectual to the conversion of many in the city of London, whereby a great change was wrought in the hearts of many, and many hundreds brought to know the Lord their teacher, which are as seals unto the word of life through him unto this day. He continued in this city very much at times, between eight and nine years together, preaching the Word of God, and speaking of the things of his kingdom to all that look after it; with great watching travail and exercise in the work of the Lord; and his earnest desire was, that all might have come to know God's salvation, and the redemption of their souls. His great diligence was known unto many, that his only rejoicing was in the prosperity of the work of the Lord, and the increase of faith amongst them that did believe.

His heart was much drawn towards this city, and oftentimes hath he said to me when suffering's did come for the Gospel's sake, which he knew would come, I can freely go to that city, and lay down my life for a testimony of that truth which I have declared through the power and Spirit of God; which in the end indeed came to be his share, and will for ever be his crown, who loved not his life unto death for the testimony of our Lord Jesus Christ.

In the same year, 1662, being pressed in his spirit to go visit them, who were begotten unto the faith of God's elect at the city of Bristol, and in divers other counties, he took his leave of them, saying to very many, "that he

did not know he should see their faces any more ;" exhorting them all to faithfulness and steadfastness in that wherein they had found rest for their souls. To some he said, "I am going up to the city of London again, to lay down my life for the Gospel, and suffer amongst Friends in that place."

A little after his return to the city, at a public meeting, which the people of the Lord have kept these many years, to hear and speak of the things of God to edification, at the Bull and Mouth near Aldersgate—by certain soldiers, under the command of Richard Brown, then General of the City of London, he was violently plucked down, and haled away in a barbarous manner, and carried to the guard, and so committed to Newgate; not for evil-doing, but for testifying unto the name of the Lord Jesus, and for the worship of God, as though this were become a great crime, worthy of bonds, and at last, death. He was had to the sessions in the Old Baily, and his accusers were witnesses against him, and they that had abused him violently, their testimony was received as good proof against him.

After two or three sessions he was fined by the court one hundred marks, which at last was reduced to twenty marks, and to lay in prison until payment; where he continued a pretty long season, about eight months, with six or seven score prisoners besides, upon the same account; many being shut up among the felons in nasty places, and for want of prison room, the natures of many were suffocated and corrupted; till at last they grew weak, sickened and died.

After relating the circumstances of his sickness and

death, which have already been given in the Memoir, he thus concludes:

And after a little season he gave up the ghost and died a prisoner, and shall be recorded and is in the Lamb's book of life, as a martyr for the Word of God, and testimony of Jesus, for which only he suffered, and gave up his life, whose death was precious in the eyes of the Lord. But now he ever liveth with God, and his works follow him, and his labors shall testify of him in generations to come; and thousands beside myself can bear witness, his life and death was to the praise, honor and glory of the grace of God; unto whom be the glory of all his works for ever, Amen.

GEORGE WHITEHEAD SAYS RESPECTING HIM :

"As for Edward Burrough, our dear brother and companion in travel, suffering and consolation for the everlasting Gospel's sake in his day, his testimony lives with us. He was a preacher of righteousness and one who travailed for the redemption of the creature from under the bondage of corruption, and proclaimed liberty to the captives in the power and authority of God. Therein he was a true witness against oppression and all the anti-christian yokes imposed in the night of apostacy upon the persons and consciences of people. Truly and valiantly he held forth the liberty of conscience, and vindicated it to the great men of the earth, in things appertaining to God in matters of religion and worship, against persecution and compulsion which had their original and rise from the power of the beast, which hath made war against the righteous seed, that men might be left free to the guid-

ance of the infallible Spirit of God, which is not to be limited in these matters, and not be compelled or brought under the corrupt wills of men, nor their fallible judgments nor invented forms in these cases.

The name of this minister of righteousness is written in the Lamb's book of life; and all the enemies of his life can never be able to blot it out nor extinguish his memorial. The remembrance of his integrity, uprightness and sincerity, hath deep impression upon my heart; and that tender love and affection in God's Truth which he was filled with towards all the upright, who are lovers of peace and unity in the Lord, is never to be forgotten by us who are yet remaining in the work of the Lord, and the everlasting Gospel, for which he hath left a glorious testimony, the glory of which shall never be extinguished, but thousands shall praise the Lord our God because thereof.

To live was to him Christ, and to die was gain. And though in his time many were the sufferings and afflictions which he underwent, and his upright spirit suffered by, both from his open enemies and persecutors in the world, because of his valor and courage for the Truth of God, and from deceitful and transforming exalted spirits which burden the holy seed; yet now his life is caught up above them all and is out of their reach in the transcendent and unspeakable glory, in the everlasting habitation of God's power, where he hath shined, and doth shine among the stars that have kept their habitations, as one that hath turned many to righteousness and that hath overcome by the blood of the Lamb and the word of his testimony. And though he be ceased from his labors, his works do follow him, which will be had in living remembrance and precious esteem among the upright.

And they, who in a prejudiced spirit of enmity, are lifted up because of his decease, are not worthy of him, nor of his testimony. They have cause to mourn and lament amongst those who have pierced the just and slighted and despised the messengers of Truth and righteousness, whom God hath therein honored; and God will debase such and their vain glory unto the dust and exalt the testimony and life of his faithful witnesses over all their heads.

But we, who have been well acquainted with the deep suffering of the righteous seed, and with the worth of true unity, in the weighty body and Spirit of Christ, and therein do behold the glory and completeness of the city of our God, which is at peace within itself, cannot but prize the ministers of righteousness and every member of the same body. How blessed and precious is the memorial of the righteous in our eyes! and how deeply is my soul affected with that comfortable communion, and those many and living refreshments that we have enjoyed one with another, even with him and others, who have finished their course.

In this I am satisfied, that though we be left in travel and our days have been days of affliction and suffering, for Christ and the Gospel's sake, as in the world; yet in Him, whom the prince of this world hath nothing in, we have peace; being come into communion with the spirits of just men, who are the family of God, written in heaven and called by one name both in heaven and earth.

GEORGE WHITEHEAD."

London, the 12th day of the First Month, 1663.

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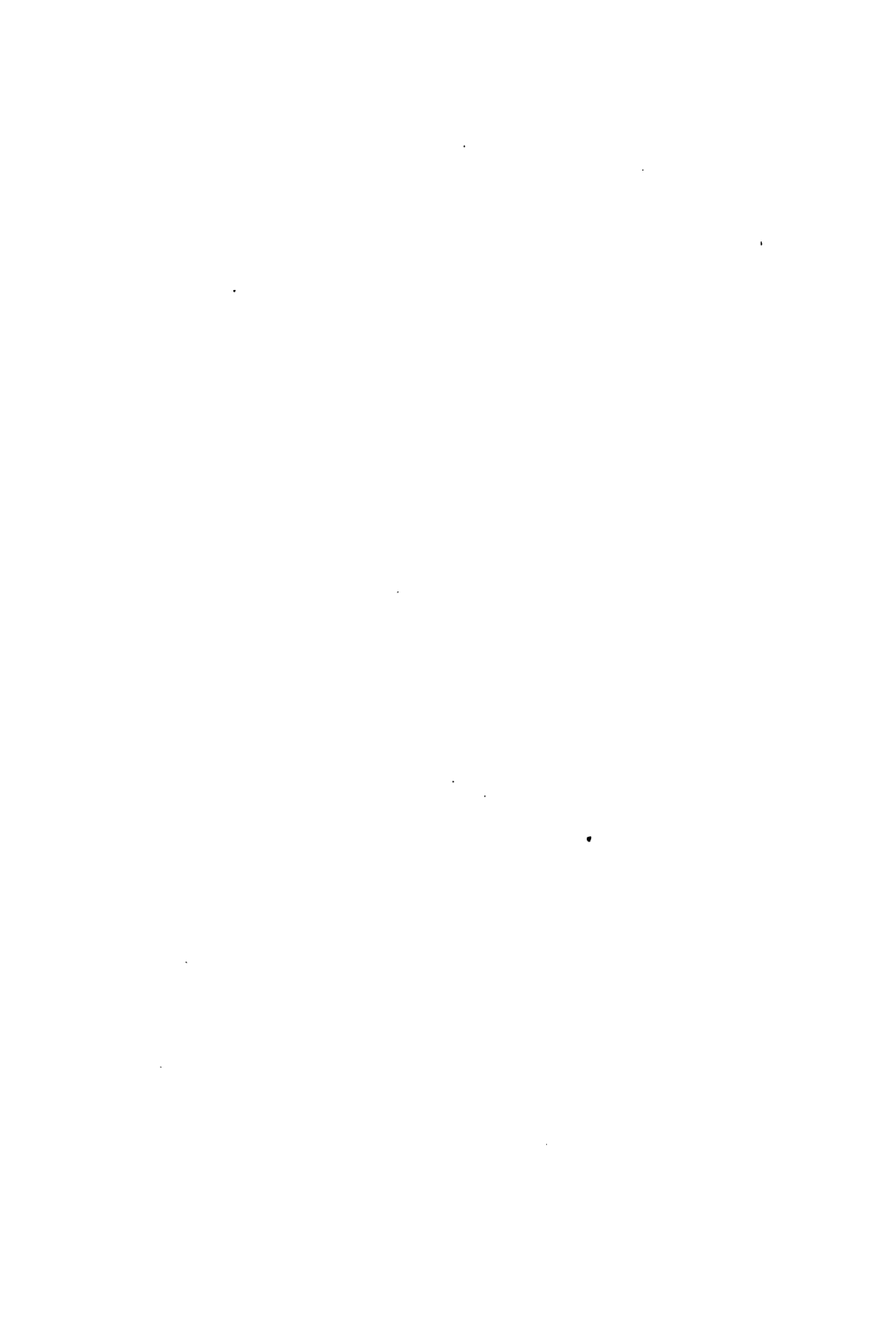


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